

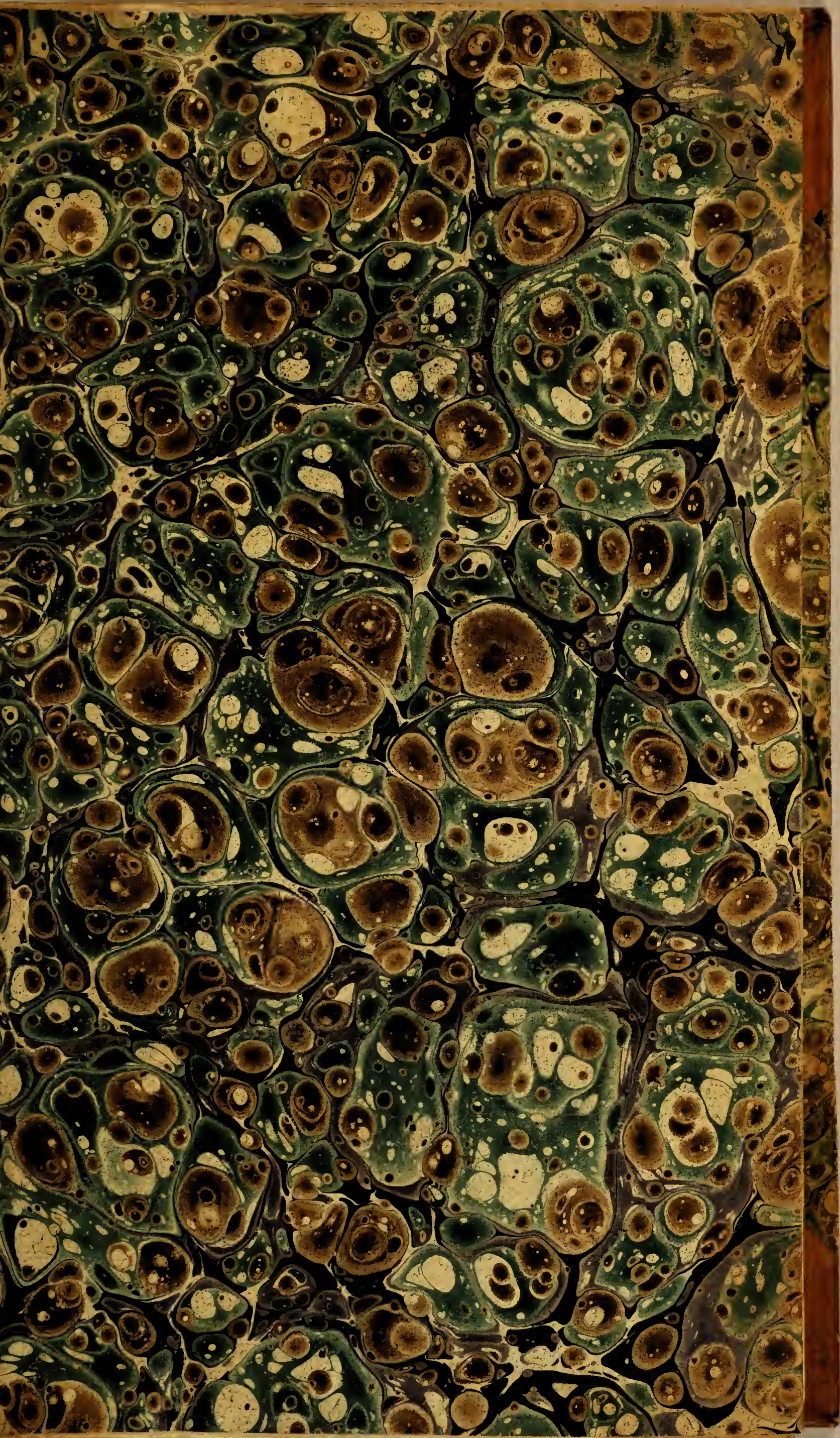






John Carter Brown.





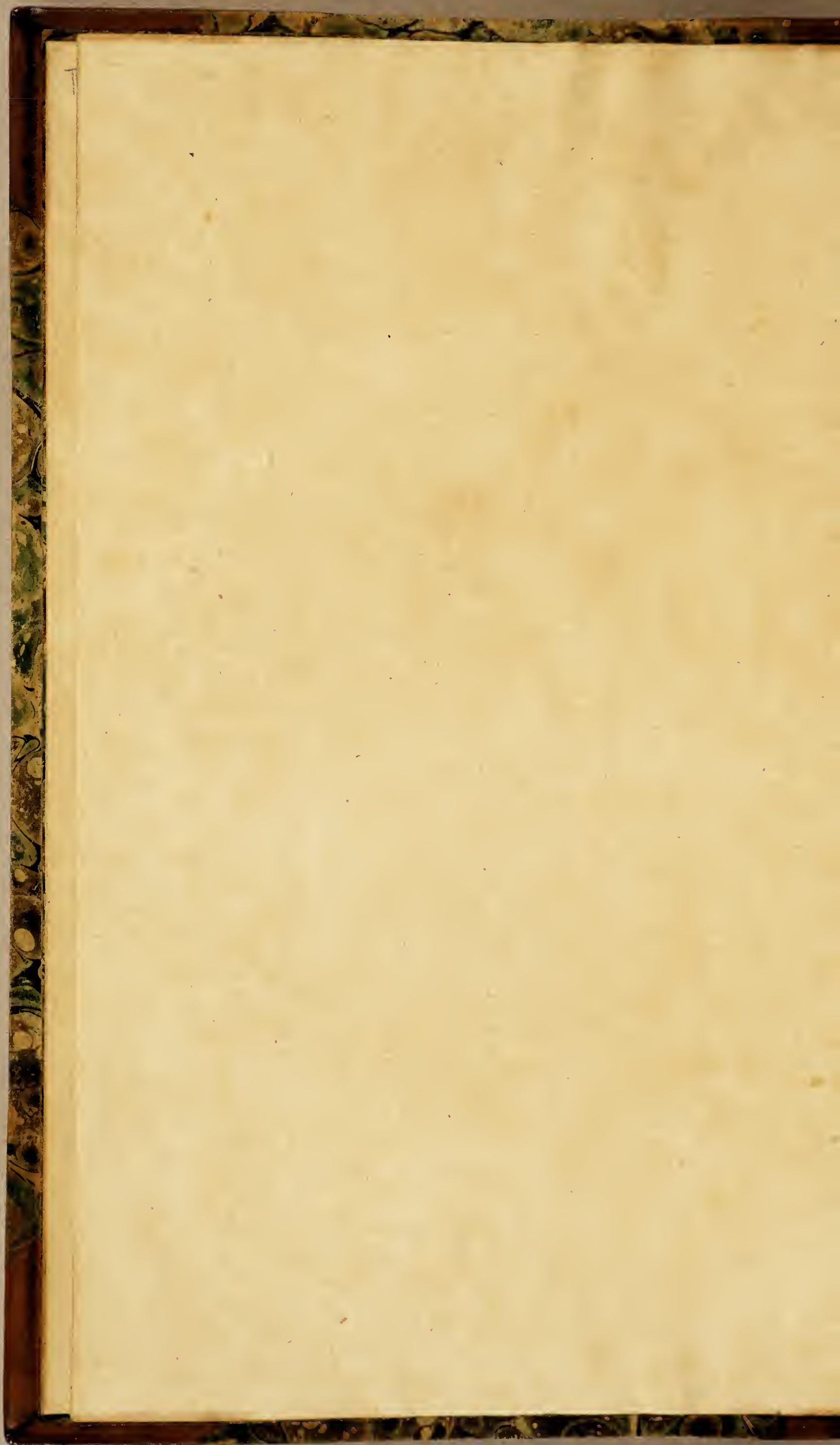


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THE  
APPEAL  
FARTHER DEFENDED ;

IN ANSWER TO  
THE  
FARTHER MISREPRESENTATIONS  
OF  
DR. CHAUNCY.

---

By THOMAS B. CHANDLER, D.D.

---

—*Not using your Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness.*  
ST. PETER.

If the Presbyterian Parity had any Place in the primitive Times as some do imagine, it must needs have been an *intolerable* Kind of Government, since all on the sudden it was universally abolished.

*Maurice against Baxter.*

---

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M,DCC,LXXI.



JOHN CARTER BROWN.

“**W**E require you to find out but one Church upon the Face of the whole Earth, that hath been ordered by your Discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal Regiment, since the Time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant. Many Things out of Antiquity ye bring, as if the purest Times of the Church had observed the self-same Orders which you require; and as though your Desire were, that the Churches of old should be Patterns for us to follow, and even Glasses wherein we might see the Practice of that, which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the Truth is, ye MEAN nothing less.”

HOOKE.





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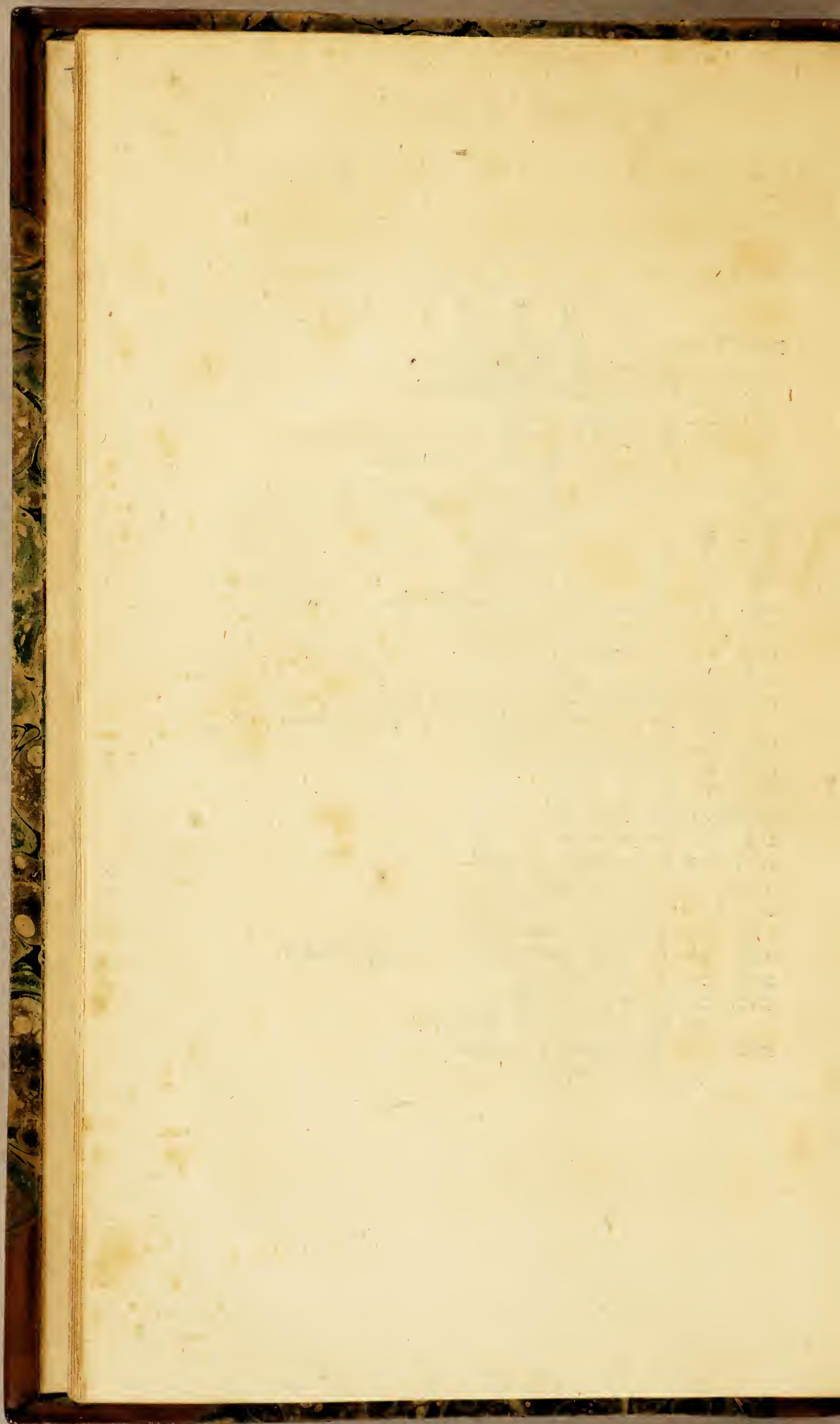


# E R R A T A.

Page. Line.

- 6. 3. before *that*, add *and*.
- 9. 4. for *disbouvoured*, r. *dishonored*.
- 11. 16. for *Bishop*, r. *Bishops*.
- 12. 16. for *those*, r. *there*,
- 18. 8. for *am now disposed*, r. *am disposed*.
- 23. 7. for *the*, r. *other*.
- 37. 3. for *representing*, r. *resenting*.
- 62. 16. for *it*, r. *is*.
- 83. 6. for *Aposties*, r. *Apostles*.
- 94. 24. after *Notice*, add *that*.
- 103. 13. for *as Novelty*, r. *as a Novelty*.
- 104. 9. for *own our*, r. *our own*.
- 114. 23. for *extreme*, r. *extremely*.
- 118. 5. for *as*, r. *for*.
- 127. 30. for *slight Basis*, r. *slight a Basis*.
- 34. for *of Non-bestowment*, r. *of the Non-bestowment*.
- 128. 6. for *all their*, r. *their*.
- 139. 22. after *Side*, add *of*.
- 154. 16. for *dle*, r. *idle*.
- 172. 21. for *it*, r. *is*.
- 178. 17. for *so*, r. *to*.
- 183. 10. for *visibilely*, r. *visibly*.
- 192. 20. after *all*, add *the*.
- 197. 35. for *was*, r. *have been*.
- 198. 30. after *have*, add *now*.
- 199. 22. for *Congregationalist*, r. *Congregationalists*.
- 207. 25. for *had*, r. *has*.
- 212. 28. after *on*, add *of*.
- 29. for *Presbyter's*, r. *Presbyters*,
- 226. 21. for *affected*, r. *effected*.
- 35. after *them*, r. *in*.









## THE

### APPEAL FARTHER DEFENDED.

**W**HEN the Author of *an Appeal to the Public, in Behalf of the Church of England in America*, published his general Defence of it, he was in Hopes of having no farther Occasion to appear in the Controversy about AMERICAN BISHOPS. Not that he looked upon what he had written as unanswerable; for he knew that there is a Sort of People that can *answer* any Thing; but he believed that enough had been said on the Subject, on both Sides, to enable the Public to judge of the Matter in Dispute. The Case of the American Episcopalians had been fairly stated, in Order to shew the Reasonableness and Necessity of their having resident Bishops; on the other Hand, Objections in sufficient Quantity, had been offered against such an Appointment; and a particular Reply had been made to every Objection that had been urged or suggested: And when a Controversy is carried on thus far, the By-standers, in his Opinion, are commonly as able to form a proper Judgment of the Merits of the Cause, as after the Disputants have proceeded to Rejoinders, Sur-rejoinders and Rebutters.

B

WHETHER



WHETHER Dr. *Chauncy* is of a different Opinion or not, is best known to himself. As he has not thought proper to tell what Motives excited him to *resume* his Pen in this Controversy, the Reader is left to discover them for himself, as well as he can; and if he should happen to mistake, in a Matter of such high Curiosity, it may not be his own Fault. Surely it could not be the *Pleasure* attending such an Employment! For my Part, I am unable to conceive that any Man can be *fond* of the rough and disagreeable Work of public Controversy, more especially at the Doctor's *Time of Life*:---Unless he should be in the Condition of old *Henry Valesius*, of whom his Biographer informs us, in Words which I shall leave for the Doctor to translate, that “*natus Annis septuaginta, nec sibi ipse*” “*videbatur Senex, nec aliis videri volebat;*” and that he candidly confessed, that “*ante acceptas*” “*quasdam a Gronovio Literas, Se de Senectute*” “*sua nunquam cogitavisse.*” And therefore I rather suspect, that Dr. *Chauncy* was sensible of the Insufficiency of his former Exertions against an American Episcopate, and found it necessary to make another Effort to support the Cause he had undertaken to maintain. And if he had a farther View of retrieving his own literary Character, he is not to be blamed; for, in the Opinion of many sensible People, *that*, as well as his Cause, had considerably suffered, by the Appearance and Operation of a certain noxious Pamphlet, known by the Title of---THE APPEAL DEFENDED.

BUT I will not spend Time in trying to account for what, after all, may be *unaccountable*; nor indeed can the Doctor expect me to take the Trouble of settling his Affairs with his Readers. It is more properly



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 3

properly my Business, at this Time, to assign the Reasons why I request again to be heard ‘before the Tribunal of the Public,’ after having offered my Plea in Behalf of the American Episcopalians, and made my DEFENCE.

AND here I might plead the natural Right every Man has to defend himself as often as he is attacked; and that it is the proper Business of a Respondent to reply to every Thing objected by his Opponent: But I shall not avail myself of these Considerations, because I must confess that I have not been governed by them myself. In the Doctor’s last Piece, now coming under Examination, the Attack never appeared to me to be so formidable as to make a regular Defence necessary; nor the Objections against an American Episcopate to be of such Consequence as to deserve a formal Reply. I could very freely, without Anxiety or Reluctance, have submitted the Matter in Dispute to the Judgment of the impartial, without offering another Sentence on the Subject.

BUT the Misfortune is, that, while many undertake to be Judges, in this Case, without any Desire or Inclination to examine what is said *on the other Side*, there are but few Persons, in those Colonies wherein Dr. Chauncy’s Pamphlets have chiefly abounded, (and for which I have an Affection as well as he) who have an Opportunity of reading what has been offered in Favour of the Episcopate proposed. With Regard to those Colonies therefore, which are the chief Objects of the Doctor’s Concern, he and his Adherents, one would think, might have been very quiet and contented with so considerable an Advantage.



tage. But no: They were alarmed, it seems, for what he calls, p. 141, *the great Cause* of their Ancestors; and it was feared that even the Report, or oral Tradition, of what had been urged in Behalf of American Bishops, might render the People of New-England favourable to the Plan for introducing them into the Colonies. It was therefore thought proper, by Way of Prevention or Antidote, and perhaps at the same Time as a *Cordial* for the Doctor after so great a Fatigue as he had lately undergone in *answering the Appeal*; that the *Thanks* of his *associated* Brethren should be formally voted him for the Exploit; and that this Vote should be circulated through the Country in the *public Papers*: By which Contrivance much greater Force was given to his Pamphlet than it originally possessed. For the Body of the People in New-England, who had heard so little in Behalf of the Bishops proposed, and so much against them; upon seeing this Decree of a public Triumph or *Ovation* made in Favour of the Doctor; had it hardly in their Power to conceive otherwise, than that the Author of the *Appeal* had been fairly vanquished, and that the episcopal Clergy and their Friends, under the Cover of plausible Pretences, had formed a Plot to deprive them of their religious Liberties, to establish over them an ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of a tyrannical Nature, and to raise high Contributions upon them, for the Support of---it as had been originally objected.

IN Order therefore to undeceive them, and any others who have been imposed upon by these or the like Arts; and to shew that, notwithstanding the Pretence, none of these Objections have been tolerably supported, and indeed that no Objection of  
any



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 5

any Consequence can be reasonably made against an Episcopate on the Plan that has been offered; the Author has been urged by many of his Friends, to make this *farther Defence* of it; which they think to be necessary under such Circumstances. As his own Opinion differed not greatly from theirs, he soon consented to submit to the Task\*; and in performing it he will endeavour to shew, among other Things, that there is a fairer and better Way of judging of the Matters in Dispute, than either from the public *Vote of Thanks* before-mentioned, or from the Doctor's confidently saying, in his Title-Page, that in his *Reply to the Appeal defended*, the Author's *Mistakes are rectified, his false arguing refuted, and the Objections against the planned American Episcopate shewn to remain in full Force, notwithstanding all that he has offered to render them invalid.*

THE Doctor's Pamphlet is entitled, *A Reply to the Appeal defended*; but the Reader must not conclude from hence, that it is, in any Sense, a Reply to the *whole* of it. The larger Part, containing many Things that are very material in this Controversy, is passed over without the least Notice. I shall not follow the Doctor's Example in this; intending, since I have undertaken a Review of his Performance, not to pass by any Thing that can be thought to be either pertinent or plausible.

In taking my Leave of him, I proposed, in Case the Dispute about an American Episcopate should

\* What is *now* presented to the Reader, would have appeared much sooner, had not the Author waited to see what Productions worthy of Notice, the Publication of the *Appeal* and *Appeal defended* in LONDON, might occasion in that Quarter.



should be farther continued, ' that the Debate  
 ' should be reduced within a narrower Compass;  
 ' that nothing which does not immediately relate  
 ' to the Merits of the Cause, should be offered on  
 ' either Side†.' But he will not allow that I had any  
 Right to propose such a Limitation; since in the  
*Appeal* and the *Appeal defended*, I had not strictly  
 adhered to the Point of an American Episcopate  
 myself. But I know of nothing in the *Appeal* that  
 does not immediately relate to this Point, except  
 the two first Sections, wherein a ' Sketch' of the  
 general Arguments in Favour of Episcopacy was  
 given, and the Nature of the episcopal Office was  
 explained. These were *introductory* to the Business  
 in Hand, and were thought to have a Tendency to  
 put the Plea for the Episcopate requested in a pro-  
 per Light, by shewing that the late Application of  
 our *Convention* for American Bishops proceeded  
 from their real *Principles*; which was certainly the  
 Case. But seeing the ill Use made of these intro-  
 ductory Sections by my Adversaries, in my *Defence*,  
 I passed over all that had been said on the general  
 Subject of Episcopacy, so far as relates to the E-  
 vidence of Scripture and the primitive Church;  
 being desirous of reducing the Controversy to one  
 Point; namely, the Reasonableness and Propriety  
 of an *American* Episcopate.

DR. Chauncy, in his first Pamphlet, had not only  
 enlarged on the introductory Sections, but had  
 rambled beyond the Bounds of the *Appeal*, in a  
 long Episode about the Sentiments of our first  
 Reformers, (to say nothing of other Instances) in  
 Order invidiously to represent the episcopal Clergy  
 in the Colonies as having departed from the origi-  
 nal

† *Appeal defended*, p. 266.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 7

nal Principles of the Church of England : And I found it necessary to spend no inconsiderable Part of my Reply in setting this Matter in its proper Light.---After what had thus passed between us, I think I had a Right to ‘ propose a new Plan of ‘ Operations,’ in Case Hostilities should continue ; which I did---not intending, as he misrepresents the Matter, *to put it out of the Power of others to remark upon the greatest Part of what I had been pleased to offer*,---but only desiring that a due Regard to the Patience of our Readers, upon which we had trespassed, might, for the future, be more carefully maintained. The Doctor is of Opinion indeed, that if *I had taken the whole of the above-mentioned Misconduct upon myself, no one would have thought it an ASPERSION*. I am of the same Opinion too ; because no one before *him* ever *did* think of calling That an *Aspersi*on, which a Man *takes upon himself*. It is possible he intended to say a *Self-Aspersi*on.

I HAD farther proposed, should the Controversy be continued, ‘ that no Invective or Abuse,---nothing that favors of Bigotry or Barbarity, should ‘ be suffered to mingle in the Debate ; but that ingenuous, sober Reasoning should decide it.’ The Doctor thinks I could *have made the Proposal with a better Grace, if I had more fully exemplified it myself*. Indeed he immediately confesses, p. 6, (I request the Reader to take particular Notice of the Passage, because it is the *only* one in which he seems to be in a tolerably good Humour, while he speaks of me) that my *Air in writing sometimes carries the Appearance of Mildness and Moderation ; nor is it generally misbecoming the Gentleman, or the Christian*. I will give him all due Credit for this  
Concession ;



Concession ; and I think it concerns me to make the most of it.

BUT in the next Words he cries out concerning me : *Will any pretend that his Manner is not too often very like their's who are actuated by a Spirit of Bigotry ?* Perhaps in some Instances this may have been the Case, although I am not conscious of it myself, and am unable to point out in what particular Passages. I know the extreme Difficulty of carrying on a Controversy with peevish and capacious Adversaries, without sometimes dropping Expressions that may appear, to an indifferent Person, to *savor of Bigotry*, or a blind Confidence. But I can truly declare, that I have endeavoured to guard against this Kind of Failings.---He goes on : *Has he no where treated his Opponents with Invektive and Abuse ?* With some little *Invektive* on certain Occasions, I confess ; but not with *Abuse*, as the Word implies unkind or severe Treatment that is undeserved. *Are there no Instances in which he has had Recourse to evasive Art, rather than solid Argument ?* Not a single one, I affirm, to the best of my Knowledge. Again : *Has he never substituted popular EXCLAMATION in the Room of good Reasoning ?*---The Doctor most probably meant here popular Declamation ; as in p. 85, he complains of my having made a *declamatory Application to the Passions*. Popular Declamation is too often the Fault of controversial Writers ; but as to *popular Exclamation*, it is “ novum Crimen, et ante hunc “ Diem inauditum.” How far the *Appeal defended* was a Composition of a *declamatory* Nature, is freely submitted to the Judgment of the Impartial.

BUT



## FURTHER DEFENDED. 9

BUT farther : *Do we never find him disingenuously endeavouring to make others think he has answered POWERFULLY, when he himself knew he had said nothing to the Purpose ? Nay, has he never so dishonoured his own Character as only to laugh loud when so pressed as to be unable to make a just or sober Reply ?* As the Doctor has not attempted to point out particular Instances of this Conduct, I can only say, in general, that in answering *him* I never thought myself *so pressed as to be unable to make a just or sober Reply* ; and consequently that I was under no Temptation to put off upon the Reader what was *nothing to the Purpose*, for a *powerful Answer*. Even *laughing loudly* on some Occasions is no Crime nor Dishonour ; and in the *Appeal defended*, I am not conscious of having laughed at all, but in such Cases as would dispose every attentive Reader to laugh with me. In a Word, I meant nothing in any Part of it, but to treat both the Doctor and the Public fairly ; and if I failed in any Instances, it was contrary to my Desire and Intention, and it is more than hitherto I have been able to discover. What the Sentiments of my Friends are, upon this Head, I shall leave for them to express as they think proper. I know not that they have made any Complaints, either as to the Matter or Manner of my former *Defence* ; and I trust they are not disposed to complain of any Thing, like the Doctor's Friends, on Account of its being *candid*. For he tells us, that some of his Friends have complained of his *Manner* in answering the *Appeal*, as *over-mild and CANDID*. p. 10, 11.

WITHOUT enlarging farther on what is merely personal, between the Doctor and me, I shall now proceed to consider such Passages of what he calls

C

his



his *Reply*, as are most worthy of Notice. And the first that occurs is in p. 11. In an introductory Observation I had requested of every Reader to take Notice, that Dr. *Chauncy*, as well as my other Opponents, had given up the great Point in Dispute. To support this Observation, I quoted several Passages which were supposed to be a full Proof of it. The Doctor now denies *that they contain that in them which LOOKS LIKE his giving up the main Point in Debate.* p. 12. As this is a Matter of great Importance in this Controversy, and what he calls p. 13, *the most essential Part of the Dispute*, I beg Leave to review it with particular Care, believing that it deserves the Reader's Attention, as much as any Thing contained in the following Sheets.

THE particular Passages alledged in Proof of the Doctor's having given up the great Point in Dispute, by consenting to the Episcopate in Question, are the following. *We desire no other Liberty, than to be left unmolested in the Exercise of our religious Principles, in so far as we are good Members of Society. And we are perfectly willing Episcopalians should enjoy this Liberty to the full. If they think Bishops, in their appropriated Sense, were constituted by Christ, or his Apostles, we object not a Word against their having as many of them as they please, if they will be content to have them with Authority altogether derived from Christ* ||. Again: *It is not simply the Exercise of any of their religious Principles that would give the least Uneasiness, nor yet the Exercise of them under as many PURELY SPIRITUAL Bishops as they would wish to have; but their*



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 11

*their having Bishops under a STATE ESTABLISHMENT* §.

THE DOCTOR allows the Quotations to have been fairly made; and the Question here is, whether in these Passages, he does, or does not, consent to our having the Episcopate proposed in the *Appeal*. In order fairly to determine this Point, Recourse must be first had to the *Appeal*, that it may be seen what Sort of an Episcopate it proposes, and whether it be the same that the Doctor consents to. Now this is clearly and fully described in the following Words. ‘ It has been long settled by our  
‘ Friends and Superiors at home, and the Clergy  
‘ of this Country have often signified their Ap-  
‘ probation thereof, and Acquiescence therein---  
‘ that the Bishop to be sent to America, shall have  
‘ no Authority, but *purely of a spiritual and eccle-*  
‘ *siastical Nature, such as is derived altogether from*  
‘ *the Church, and not from the State*---that this Au-  
‘ thority shall operate only upon the Clergy of the  
‘ Church, and not upon the Laity nor Dissenters  
‘ of any Denomination---that the Bishops shall not  
‘ interfere with the Property or Privileges, whe-  
‘ ther civil or religious, of Churchmen or Dissen-  
‘ ters---that, in particular, they shall have no Con-  
‘ cern with the Probate of Wills, Letters of Guar-  
‘ dianship and Administration, or Marriage-Li-  
‘ cences, nor be Judges of any Cases relating  
‘ thereto---but, that they shall *ONLY exercise the*  
‘ *original Duties of their Office* as before stated, *i. e.*  
‘ *ordain and govern the Clergy, and administer Con-*  
‘ *firmation* to those who shall desire it. This,  
‘ without any Reservation or Equivocation, is the  
‘ exact Plan of an American Episcopate which has  
‘ been

§ Answer to the *Appeal*, p. 189.



‘ been settled at home ; and it is the *only one*, on  
‘ which Bishops have been requested here, either  
‘ in our general or more particular Addresses\*.’ Nor  
is there any Thing, in any Part of the *Appeal*,  
from which it can be infered, that a different E-  
piscopate from this was intended or desired.

Now the Doctor, in the Passages quoted, declares for himself, as well as in Behalf of others, that he is willing we should have as many Bishops as we want, provided only, that we are *content to have them with* AUTHORITY ALTOGETHER DERIVED FROM CHRIST--that they are PURELY SPIRITUAL--and not upon the Footing of a STATE ESTABLISHMENT. But these are specifically and exactly the very Bishops proposed in the *Appeal*. The Bishops requested are those expressly said 'to have 'no Authority, but such as is derived altogether 'from the Church,' and consequently ALTOGETHER FROM CHRIST. Their Authority and Powers are to be intirely 'of an ecclesiastical Nature,' they being intended only 'to ordain and govern 'the Clergy, and to administer Confirmation;' and consequently they are to be PURELY SPIRITUAL.

THE Government is not expected or desired to give them any Support or peculiar Protection; and consequently they are not to be on the Footing of a STATE ESTABLISHMENT. From these *Premises* every Reader can, and every unbiaſſed Reader will, draw the *Conſequence* for himſelf, that THEREFORE Dr. *Chauncy* allows of the Epiſcopate propoſed in the *Appeal*, and h  
eat Poin  
in Diſpute,

# See the *Appeal*, p. 79.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 13

HE asserts notwithstanding, that the Bishops in the above-mentioned Plan, and those he spoke of in the above recited Passages, are ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT---as *widely different, as this World is from another*. But what Assurance is this! A Man that can affirm at this Rate, is fit to undertake, what a common Genius will not attempt, to prove that 'Darkness is Light, and Light Darkness.' I would willingly put the most favourable Construction upon this Conduct; and therefore I impute it to the Perplexity he was under, which did not permit him to see what is so evident to others.

AND indeed he seems to have puzzled and confused himself not a little, with the Term *spiritual Bishops*. For sometimes he uses it in the Sense wherein all Mankind have ever understood it, as signifying Bishops that have 'no Authority but of a spiritual and ecclesiastical Nature, such as is derived altogether from the Church and not from the State,' which are the Bishops of the *Appeal*. Thus he allows, p. 92, that we might have purely *spiritual Bishops*, by applying to the Bishop of *Canada* or the *Moravians*. But why then may we not have Bishops *as* spiritual, if we receive them from England? Ordination to the same Office, by any one Bishop in Christendom, conveys exactly the same Authority, to the same Degree, as Ordination by any other Bishop, according to the Opinion of the Church in all Ages; and the Powers thus conveyed are not temporal, but spiritual. The temporal Powers which Bishops possess in any Country, are not derived from their Ordination, but conferred upon them by some Law or Act of the State. Where Bishops receive such Powers, they are in Part temporal Bishops; but where they receive



ceive none, they are *purely spiritual*. Before the Time of *Constantine* all Bishops were such; and since his Time, Bishops, without any temporal Authority, are as *purely spiritual* as they were before it, every Power which belongs to them as Bishops being of a spiritual Nature. The original and peculiar Powers of Bishops, are those of Ordination, Government and Confirmation. Now the Doctor himself, p. 103, calls *ordaining* and *governing* Power *spiritual*; and for the same Reasons, *confirming* Power must be spiritual likewise. And when Bishops possess these Powers, without any Mixture of temporal Authority, they are *purely spiritual*. But in other Places, and particularly wherever he denies that spiritual Bishops are the same with those of the *Appeal*, he uses the Words in a Sense that is exclusively his own; and by *purely spiritual* Bishops, he evidently means Bishops that are *pure SPIRITS*, without any bodily Qualities; which last, it seems, are the only Bishops he is now willing to allow us.

He appears to have been equally embarrassed with the word *Establishment*. The Establishment of a Religion, or of any particular Order of Men always implies, *at least*, some *peculiar* Countenance and Protection from the State; but all that is desired for the Bishops of the *Appeal*, is a Consent to their Existence, or, *at most*, the Approbation of the Legislature, and that *common* Protection which is freely granted to the various religious Denominations throughout the British Dominions. Nothing but wilful or natural Blindness can avoid seeing, that there is a wide Difference between such a Toleration, and a *State-Establishment*. The Doctor sometimes uses the Word *Establishment* in the Sense wherein



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 15

wherein others use it; and it was not suspected that he departed from its common Acceptation in his *Answer* to the *Appeal*. And therefore when he signified his Consent to our having Bishops that should not be under a *State-Establishment*, I made no Scruple to affirm, that he consented to the Episcopate of the *Appeal*, which was not to be under a *State-Establishment*, and consequently that he had given up the main Point in Debate---which had he used common Language in its common Acceptation, was certainly the Case. In order to extricate himself, he now declares in his *Reply*, that he signified no such Consent; and to my Question---‘Does this Plan propose an Establishment of the Church?’---He roundly answers, *it undoubtedly does.* p. 142. So that by *Establishment* now, he means no more than what is proposed in the *Appeal* for an American Episcopate, which is exactly neither more nor less than what all consistent Writers mean by the word *Toleration*. And such are the Fervors of his anti-episcopal Zeal, that he is unwilling American Bishops should be established in *his* Sense, *i. e.* tolerated, or suffered to exist in any Form, excepting perhaps that of *pure Spirits*.

I HAVE proceeded on the favourable Supposition, that the Doctor was perplexed himself in the Use of these Terms. If this was not the Case, it was still worse; for he must have intended to perplex his Readers. ‘Phenomena’ of this Kind sometimes do appear ‘in the Regions of Controversy.’ When a Writer is dextrous in playing Tricks with Words, he can, at any Time, raise a Mist, and make his Escape; and when we think that we have secured him in Cords of his own twisting, we are surprized to find, that---

*Effugiet*



*Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus Vincula Proteus.*

THE Doctor complains that my Representation of the Matter makes him to have *wrote* [written] *many Scores of Pages in Opposition to that, against which he had not a Word to object.* p. 12---and to have *acted a weak, ridiculous and inconsistent Part.* p. 13. The Fact is truly represented, whatever it may imply ; and I am not answerable for the Consequences. I am disposed to think as favourably of him as possible, and I could wish for no Occasions of treating him otherwise than respectfully. And as to the Inconsistency before us, I am willing, as I have said, to ascribe it, not to any Malice *prepenſe*, but to the Embarrassment he was under from the Badness of his Cause, and the urgent Necessity of his still defending it. The same Kind of Inconsistency, proceeding from the like Embarrassment, has appeared in all our Opposers ; particularly in the *American Whig*, the *Remonstrant*, and another great Stickler against American Bishops, in the *London Chronicle*, who signs himself *Atlanticus*. They oppose that against which they have no Objections ; they give their Consent, and afterwards deny that they ever thought of consenting at all.

THE last-mentioned Writer, in Order to “do Justice to the Americans,” says, that “they only object to *Lords Bishops* being sent over by Authority from the Legislature of Great-Britain, with Power and Titles of worldly Pre-eminence.” And the Doctor in p. 104, seems chiefly to fear, that the Bishops described in our Plan, should come *from the King or State* ; for he is there very willing that we should have them from the Bohemians, or Waldenses,



Waldenses, or Moravians, or even from Canada. But it can be a Matter of no Consequence to those, over whom they are to exercise no Jurisdiction, whether our Bishops, under the Limitations proposed, are of Bohemian, Moravian, or English Extraction. Bishops may be sent by “the Legislature of Great-Britain” without any temporal Power; and such only have been desired for America. As to their *Titles*, which may give Pain to the envious and malicious, they will imply no *Pre-eminence* but what arises from the Nature of their Office, considered as *purely* ecclesiastical or *spiritual*, and will undoubtedly not exceed what were given to Bishops in the primitive Ages of the Church. “The Legislature of Great-Britain” has never been requested to send Bishops to America; nor is the Parliament desired to interfere any farther, than, if it should be found that the national Establishment will naturally give American Bishops, when appointed, more Authority than is proposed, to circumscribe it according to our Plan.

As to the KING indeed, it is the Duty both of the Clergy here, and of the Bishops at home, to apply to him for his Consent and Warrant, before they proceed to carry such a Scheme into Execution. This Duty arises from that *Supremacy* of the Crown, to which the Bishops and Clergy have sworn Submission, in all such Cases, agreeably to the Laws of the Realm; and although we find “the Minds of some *slandrous* Folks to be offended” at it, it is no more, to use the Words of the ARTICLE, than “that only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes by GOD himself.”

D

AMONG



AMONG the original Articles of the Doctor's Complaint, it was represented, *that the Arguments in Support of the PETITIONS for an American Episcopate had been kept secret ; and that an authentic Knowledge of them, though applied for, was rejected.* It was replied in the *Appeal defended*, 'I know nothing of such an Application, or Rejection.' He now rejoins, p. 14, *I am now disposed to think he here wrote as he thought. But, if he had taken Time for Recollection, it is probable he would have called to Mind what he might not then have had in actual Remembrance. Did he never hear of a formal Application made by Dr. Stiles in a Letter to the Clerk of the New-York Convention, desiring a Copy of their Petitions, especially their Petition to the King, and of the formal Negative put upon this reasonable Request? Did he never hear of any Controversy between the American Whig, and this Clerk of the Convention, relative to the Petition to the King, wherein he was called upon to put an End to the Dispute, by producing the Words of the Petition, which he refused to do?* To all this I answer in the Negative. I neither heard of Dr. Stiles's Application, nor of the Dispute between the *American Whig* and the Secretary of our Convention, till considerably *after* the Time of the Doctor's making his Complaint ; and therefore I naturally supposed that what is here mentioned could not have occasioned it, it being not common for *Effects* to go before their *Causes*. The Complaint was published by the Middle of March 1768, and must have been printed in February, and written before it was printed---Mr. Seabury's Advertisement, as Secretary of the Convention, which brought on his Dispute with the *American Whig*, did not make its Appearance in New-York before March 28---And Dr. Stiles's Application for Copies of  
the



the Petitions, was not made till several Weeks afterwards. So that the Reader sees it was not owing to my Want of *Recollection*, but to my Ignorance of the Doctor's Abilities in *Prognostication*, that I made such a Reply. But if this Gentleman was above making Distinctions between past and future, he ought in Justice to have told us so, upon his engaging in the Controversy.

It was farther said in Answer to him: 'The Complaint is altogether groundless; for the Plan upon which it was proposed that Bishops should be sent to America, and the Arguments afterwards made Use of in Support of the Petitions, actually were published, a considerable Time before the Petitions were sent.' The Doctor replies, *What is all this to the Purpose?* p. 15. I must confess it appears to me to be greatly to the Purpose, to shew that particular Matters were published, in answering a Complaint that they were *not* published. *It is true*, says he, *such Arguments, in Support of the Plan for American Bishops as were thought fit to be publickly used, we have been* (he might have said *had been*) *made acquainted with. But the Question is, are these the ONLY ONES that enforced the Petitions that were sent home? Will the Doctor venture to say, NO OTHERS were used?* I assure him, that such Arguments as had been publickly used in Support of our Plan, included the ONLY ONES that were used to enforce the Petitions; and therefore I need not add, that NO OTHERS were made Use of for that Purpose. All this has been publickly asserted over and over. If so, says the Doctor, *What possible Harm can there be in giving Copies of them?*---It is generally supposed that some Things are said in Support of these Petitions, which the Clergy who sent them



*are not willing should be publickly known.* No great Harm, I imagine, could have been expected from the Publication of our Petitions ; and if the Clergy had been treated with Decency on the Occasion, it is not improbable that Copies of all of them would, long since, have been laid before the Public. But after having been openly bullied and abused, upon no other Evidence against them than that of uncharitable Suspicions, and after the Petitions had been magisterially demanded by anonymous Scriblers, they thought proper to refuse them. In these Circumstances the Request of Dr. Stiles, however *reasonable* in itself, or however decently made, could not prudently be granted, as his Connections with a certain Party were known.

THE Doctor proceeds : *If any Credit is due to the Word of a Gentleman, of well established Reputation, who was favoured with a Sight, though not with a Copy of one of these Petitions, it contained that in it which has never been made public.* I would not say any Thing to lessen the *well established Reputation* of any Gentleman ; but such an imperfect Testimony can, by no Means, be admitted in the present Case. If the *Gentleman*, here meant, had the Sight of a *true* Copy, it is possible that he may have misapprehended some particular Passages, or his Memory may have deceived him. But perhaps he saw only the first Draft of a Petition, before it had undergone the Corrections of the Convention ; and from this he could form no Judgment of the Petition that was afterwards actually sent. Perhaps he saw a spurious Copy (and why may there not be fictitious Petitions, as well as *fictitious Letters* from Members of *the Society* ?) written with a View, either of making Mischief among the Dissenters,  
or



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 21

or of raising an Odium against the episcopal Clergy. To this must be added, that the *Gentleman* himself is not known, and consequently but little Regard can be paid to his Testimony, at any Rate. Now, to borrow a little of the Doctor's Phraseology from p. 168, this *poor, lame, lank* Evidence is all that he has to oppose to the positive and peremptory Declarations of our Convention to the contrary, and particularly by the Pen of their very worthy Secretary; the Members of which Convention must be supposed to know what they themselves did in the Affair, and can, whenever they please, have Recourse to the original Papers.

BUT as what could not prudently be done, at that Season of epidemic Presbyterian Vehemence against the Clergy and the Church of England in the Colonies, may not be altogether improper now---when the Passions of Men have greatly subsided, and their Prejudices have abated, in Proportion as their Eyes have been opened; in order to gratify the Curiosity of the Reader (not forgetting Dr. *Chauncy*) I will lay before him *true* Copies of our Petitions to the King, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, without any Comment or Explanation: And if our late Adversaries should continue to preserve their present apparent good Temper, (here I do not forget, but must except, the Doctor) the other Petitions may possibly see the Light on some future Occasions.

### The ADDRESS to the KING.

“ *Most gracious Sovereign,*  
 “ **W**E, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal  
 “ Subjects, the Clergy of the Church of  
 “ England in your Provinces of New-York and  
 “ New-



“ New-Jersey, now met together in one of those  
“ voluntary Conventions, which the Necessities of  
“ the Church in these Parts frequently oblige us  
“ to hold, having long waited in Hopes of seeing  
“ the Church of England in America enjoy the  
“ Benefits of its own Institutions, and of being  
“ thereby raised to an Equality with other religi-  
“ ous Denominations in your Majesty’s Colonies,  
“ think it our Duty, at length, to prostrate our-  
“ selves as Supplicants before the Throne, and to  
“ implore your Majesty’s gracious Protection and  
“ Relief, which we now most earnestly do, with  
“ all Submission and Humility.

“ As we esteem Episcopacy to have been the  
“ Institution of Christ, and consequently to be of  
“ absolute Necessity in the Christian Church ; so,  
“ without Bishops we can have neither Ordination  
“ nor a regular Discipline administered, which  
“ Things are necessary to the Being of every reli-  
“ gious Society ; to say nothing of Confirmation,  
“ a Rite which the Church of England has ever  
“ held sacred, and the Benefits of which we take  
“ to be very great. These are Hardships, which  
“ no tolerated Sect in any Part of your Majesty’s  
“ Dominions is reduced to, and under which, e-  
“ very Denomination of Dissenters would complain  
“ bitterly ; and if the Church of England in A-  
“ merica must still continue to suffer under them,  
“ we fear, that notwithstanding our utmost Efforts  
“ to prevent it, She must finally sink, and with  
“ her the firmest Security for the Loyalty of your  
“ Majesty’s American Subjects must undoubtedly  
“ fail.

“ WITH



FARTHER DEFENDED. 23

“ WITH these Prospects and Fears, your Ma-  
“ jesty’s known Goodness of Heart and Affection  
“ for the Church are our only Refuge, (under the  
“ Almighty) to which we now fly, most humbly  
“ imploring that one or more Bishops may be spee-  
“ dily sent us, not to exercise Jurisdiction over  
“ the People, nor to interfere with any in their  
“ civil Rights, but to administer to, and to go-  
“ vern in ecclesiastical Matters, the Professors of  
“ the Church.

“ THAT your Majesty may long continue, in  
“ Health and Happiness, a nursing Father to the  
“ Church and a Glory to the Nation, and at last  
“ exchange your temporal for an eternal Crown,  
“ is the daily and devout Prayer of,

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Your Majesty’s most dutiful

“ And faithful Subjects,

“ The Clergy of New-York and New-Jersey.

*Signed by Order,*

“ Perth-Amboy, in  
“ New-Jersey,  
“ Oct. 2, 1765.”

“ Myles Cooper, President of the  
“ Convention,

“ Robert M’Kean, Secretary.”

The ADDRESS to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ **T**HE Clergy of New-York and New-  
“ Jersey, after mature Consideration,  
“ have thought proper to address the Throne,  
“ in Behalf of the Church of England in A-  
“ merica, which, while destitute of Bishops and  
“ an orderly Discipline, must be in a ruinous  
“ Condition,



“ Condition, have taken the Liberty to enclose  
 “ their Address, to your Grace, humbly request-  
 “ ing, that, to the innumerable kind Offices  
 “ which you have been doing to the American  
 “ Church and Clergy for a long Course of Years,  
 “ You will be pleased to add that of presenting it  
 “ to his Majesty, and of supporting the Prayer of  
 “ it with those Arguments and Representations,  
 “ which none can use so properly or to so great  
 “ Advantage, as your Grace. It is impossible that  
 “ this Cause can be better pleaded than it was by  
 “ your Grace many Years ago in a public Manner,  
 “ and no one has ever yet done it so well; and if  
 “ any Relief is to be obtained, we have Reason to  
 “ expect it from such a Prince as now adorns the  
 “ Throne, by the Mediation of such an Advocate.

“ It is needless to be particular with your  
 “ Grace, who are so thoroughly acquainted with our  
 “ Case and Condition; and it would be injurious  
 “ to offer Intreaties to so warm and avowed a Pa-  
 “ tron. The Request, we apprehend, is so rea-  
 “ sonable and equitable, that none can oppose it  
 “ with any Appearance of Justice or Humanity;  
 “ and the Plan of an American Episcopate, as it  
 “ has been often explained by your Grace, is so  
 “ universally harmless and unexceptionable, that  
 “ no tolerable Objections can be offered against it.

“ However we are sensible that a powerful Con-  
 “ federacy has been formed to oppose it, which  
 “ will probably continue; in which Case the great  
 “ Question is, in our humble Opinion, Whether  
 “ the Church here shall be sacrificed to the Per-  
 “ verseness and malicious Obstinacy of its Ene-  
 “ mies, or, whether its Friends shall run the  
 “ Hazard



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 25

“ Hazard of disobliging them? We do not pre-  
 “ tend to see far into Futurity, but we are sadly  
 “ apprehensive, that if our Enemies have now  
 “ Power to prevent our having Bishops in Ame-  
 “ rica, the Time is not far distant, when, having  
 “ gathered Strength by Concessions, they will be  
 “ also able to exterminate Episcopacy even in  
 “ England.

“ AMONGST other Arts that have been used to  
 “ disappoint us, it has been publickly and boldly  
 “ asserted\*,” *that the sending us Bishops is ut-*  
*terly disagreeable to nineteen Twentieths of all the*  
*People in America, and would occasion a more*  
*dangerous Discontent and Clamour than the Stamp-*  
*Duty, &c.* “ This, we beg Leave to assure  
 “ your Grace, is a Slander, vile and malicious  
 “ in all its Parts. We do not believe *any* Per-  
 “ sons in these Colonies have ever pretended so  
 “ much Uneasiness at the Prospect of Bishops, as  
 “ has been *generally* expressed on Occasion of the  
 “ Stamp-Act. Indeed we have heard of no Cla-  
 “ mour at all, and our Ears have been open. We  
 “ have made it our Business for some Time past to  
 “ mention the Affair to the most considerable Dis-  
 “ senters among us, as Opportunity has fairly of-  
 “ fered, but we have found none that pretend to  
 “ dispute the Reasonableness of it. On the other  
 “ Hand, several have declared that they have no  
 “ Objections to Bishops in America, provided the  
 “ Dissenters are not to come under their Jurisdic-  
 “ tion. There is no Doubt but those who are the  
 “ Enemies of the Church would be sorry to see it  
 “ in a flourishing State, but none are so hardy as to  
 “ tell us so.

E

“ AND

\* In many of the English and American News-Papers.



“ AND as to the Proportion of dissatisfied Peo-  
 “ ple, who are represented to be Nineteen in  
 “ Twenty, it is too glaringly false to deserve an  
 “ Answer. If we take into the Account all the  
 “ North-American Colonies, and it is not fair to  
 “ do otherwise, we believe that of the Professors  
 “ of the Church of England the Number is as  
 “ great, (some say superior) as that of the Dissen-  
 “ ters. There are also many Thousands of Lu-  
 “ therans in the Colonies, whose good Wishes in  
 “ this Case we may safely rely on. And of the  
 “ Dissenters, a considerable Proportion are Qua-  
 “ kers, who are well known to have generally a  
 “ much better Opinion of the Church, than of the  
 “ Presbyterians. Nay, they now begin to dread  
 “ the increasing Power of the latter in this Coun-  
 “ try, and declare their Resolution to support the  
 “ Church; and of late there have been several  
 “ Instances of their contributing largely to the  
 “ building of Churches, on the same Principle.

“ AFTER all, supposing the Discontent were  
 “ really considerable, yet the World must pro-  
 “ nounce that it is very unreasonable. And we  
 “ trust that our Superiors, who believe Episco-  
 “ pacy to be the Appointment of Christ, will al-  
 “ ways think it more reasonable, and, upon the  
 “ whole, more prudent and better Policy, to obey  
 “ God and to oblige the Friends of the Church,  
 “ than to please a comparatively small and unrea-  
 “ sonable Party. But if we are to have no Bishops  
 “ until the Dissenters are willing, we know what  
 “ to expect: We shall only say, that the Case ap-  
 “ pears to us to be unparalleled in this, as well as  
 “ other Respects.

“ YOUR



“ YOUR Grace will excuse the Warmth of this  
 “ Address, as it proceeds from no interested Views,  
 “ but from a Sense we are under of the Necessities  
 “ of the Church. We shall offer no farther Apo-  
 “ logy, but relying on your great Goodness, beg  
 “ Leave to subscribe ourselves, as we are with the  
 “ utmost Veneration and Gratitude, &c.”

*Pertb-Amboy, Octo. 2, 1765.*

HAVING gone through the Doctor's preliminary Articles, I shall now proceed to consider the Substance of his first Section, amounting to a third Part of his Pamphlet; although there is but little in it that is immediately connected with the Episcopate in Question. And here, upon a Prospect of the Work before me, I am ready to shrink back, and to repent that I have undertaken it. Were the Business only to debate Matters of some Consequence with a candid Opponent, I should enter upon it with less Reluctance, and could promise the Reader more Satisfaction. But where much Time and Labour must be spent in the unprofitable Drudgery of comparing Pamphlet with Pamphlet, of balancing Sentence with Sentence, of shewing that I said *so*, or said *not so*---that the Doctor said this, or meant that, or mistook, or misrepresented the Matter, I fear it will be a Trial indeed. And yet to more than a little of this Kind of Labour am I unavoidably destined, in the present Undertaking.

In the *Appeal defended*, I regreted that I had introduced the Plea for American Bishops, with a *Sketch* of the general Arguments in Favour of Episcopacy; and confessed ‘that what was said on the general Subject, however just in itself, or proper in Theory, had been better omitted’---for



Reasons that need not be repeated. *And yet, says the Doctor, he has wrote [written] not less than 98 Pages---more than one third Part of the whole---in Support of that, concerning which he was convinced it had been better if he had said nothing.* p. 17. But in the 98 Pages, to which he refers, I said but little upon what was contained in the *Sketch*, and carefully avoided saying any Thing on the Evidence of Scripture and the primitive Church, which is the most essential Part of the general Controversy; because I was for hastening to the Subject of an American Episcopate. And that I reached it no sooner, was owing to the Doctor's needlessly obstructing my Passage with, what he pretended to be, the Sentiments of our first Reformers, the Opinions of some eminent Moderns, the Case of the Waldenses, of the foreign Churches, the King's Supremacy, &c. These were the Subjects of those 98 Pages, and not the *Jus divinum* of Episcopacy, which was *that, concerning which I was convinced it had been better if I had said nothing.* And yet a Subject that had been better omitted in the *Appeal*, might very properly come under Consideration in the *Appeal defended*, as it was professedly written 'in Answer to the Objections and Misrepresentations of Dr. Chauncy and others.' This I take to be a sufficient Reply to all that is said in three prevaricating Pages, wherein the Doctor farther exercises his Talents, and labours to prove me to have been guilty, not only of what he calls *injudicious Unfairness* (he may possibly think his own *Unfairness* to have been *judicious*) but also of *Inconsistency*.

In the *Appeal*, the divine Right of Episcopacy was asserted. The Doctor denied this to be a Doctrine



trine of the Church of England. It was replied, in the first Place, that were this really the Case, and ‘ if it be by Virtue only of the *Jus humanum* of ‘ Episcopacy that Bishops are necessary, still the ‘ Ends for which they are necessary cannot be obtained without them, so long as we are subject ‘ to the Authority that requires them.’ He now rejoins: *As the Authority requiring is by Supposition merely human, no Complaints can reasonably be made by those who could have none to make, if they acknowledged and honoured no one but Jesus Christ as supreme Head of the Christian Church.* p. 20. But does not the Doctor know that none admit of a *supreme Head of the Christian Church* upon Earth, but Papists? I hope he did not mean to insinuate, that the episcopal Clergy in the Colonies believe the Doctrine of the Pope’s Supremacy. The supreme Head of a *national Church* is a very different Thing from the supreme Head of *the Christian Church*; and, by the former, the Church of England means no more than the Prerogative given to our Princes, of “ ruling all Estates and Degrees “ committed to their Charge by God, whether they “ be *ecclesiastical* or temporal†,” in Opposition to the Pope’s Usurpation: And, whether this is inconsistent with Christ’s *absolute Supremacy*, let common Sense judge. An Authority to govern the national Church in *Subordination* to Christ, is the most that the Church of England ever ascribed to Christian Princes; and the Claim of *subordinate Authority* is so far from denying, that it actually acknowledges and establisnes, the Supremacy of the *Principal*. But more will be said upon this Subject in its proper Place. Supposing now, but not granting, that we esteemed Bishops to be necessary

† See Article XXXVII.



cessary by Virtue only of a *Jus Humanum*; it is evident, at first View, that the Ends for which they are thus made necessary cannot be obtained without them, 'so long as we are subject to the Authority that requires them,' and 'look upon ourselves to be bound in Duty and Conscience to obey' it. And the Case of Episcopalians in America, conscientiously obedient to the national Authority, must be hard without an Episcopate, in Proportion to the Necessity or Importance of those Ends, for which Bishops are necessary. To tell us that we are wrong in our Notions of the King's Supremacy, if true, would be nothing to the Purpose.

It was farther said in Reply, that, with Regard to Episcopacy, the Doctor mistook the Principles of the Church of England, which always acknowledged a divine Right. And here he was referred, in particular, to the *Preface* to the ORDINAL. Part of this Preface was recited, wherein, as was observed, 'the DISTINCTION of the three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons is fully asserted---the ANTIQUITY of this Distinction is deduced from the Apostles Times---the EVIDENCE in Favour of it is said to be contained in *holy Scripture* and ancient Authors---and the CLEARNESS of this Evidence is such, that it must appear to ALL MEN diligently reading *holy Scripture*, &c. &c.'

THE Doctor attempts not to shew that these Observations are ill-grounded, nor to point out the Inconclusiveness of this Reasoning, in his own Words, as he was apprehensive it might expose him to be censured for Prejudice, Obstinacy and perverse Blindness;



ness; but he chooses to answer in the Language of two famous episcopal Writers. What then do these two famous Writers say? The first is Bishop Hoadly, in his *Reasonableness of Conformity*, written with the laudable View of reconciling the Non-conformists to the Church of England. In the Course of his Work, he represented the Difference that divided them from the Conformists to be, in Reality, much smaller, in many Instances, than had been commonly pretended. Dr. Calamy had offered, as an Objection against ministerial Conformity, that the Subscription required from the Clergy, implies “an Allowance and Approbation of that Assertion, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons are three distinct Orders by divine Appointment.” Mr. Hoadly answered, that this Quotation from the Preface to the Ordinal was not fairly made. “By divine Appointment, says he, “You add yourselves;” which was certainly true, these Words being not in the Preface. “For, “continues he, all that the Sentence, which you “quote, says, is that *that these Orders have been “in the Church from the Apostles Times.*” He then proceeds in the Words cited by the Doctor, the Force of which is contained in this one Assertion: “There is some Difference between the two Sentences, *Bishops, Priests and Deacons, are three distinct Orders in the Church by DIVINE APPOINTMENT, and,---From the Apostles Times, there have been these Orders in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons:*” Which Distinction is undoubtedly just, when the Dispute is about the Words of the Ordinal. But he does not deny that the Preface asserts the *Distinction* of the three Orders---nor that it deduces the *Antiquity* of this Distinction from the Time of the Apostles---nor that



that it says the EVIDENCE of it is contained in holy Scripture and ancient Authors---nor that it maintains the *Clearness* of this Evidence to all diligent Inquirers ; which is all that I affirmed, or am obliged to support. Nor does it appear in his Dispute with Dr. Calamy, that he himself did not fully believe the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy. But on the contrary, in this same Book, which the Doctor has the Assurance to quote, he expressly declares : “ We think we can *demonstrate* that in “ the primitive Times the Administration of ec- “ clestiaical Affairs was in the Hands of *Bishops*, “ who had *Presbyters* subject to them\*.” And again : “ Imagining our Method (of Ordination by “ Bishops) to be the orderly and settled Method “ *from the primitive Ages* ; where we see it neg- “ lected, when there is no Necessity, we think in “ Justice, *we cannot acknowledge those who depart “ from it approved of God*, in setting apart them- “ selves for the Ministry||.” This approaches nearly to the most *high-flying* Expressions used in the *Appeal* ; in which the Author went not much farther than this eminent Writer, whose Moderation has been known and celebrated throughout the Christian World. In his *Defence of episcopal Ordination*, he undertakes to prove, and does prove, that it is of APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION. And he introduces Mr. Baxter himself, as making this very important Concession : “ that there were fixed Bi- “ shops in some Churches in the Days of one of “ the Apostles ; that neither the Apostles, nor any “ of their Disciples, nor any Christian, or Here- “ tic in the World, spake, or wrote a Word a- “ gainst Episcopacy, till long after it was generally “ settled in the Churches.”

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\* *Second Edition*, p. 4.|| *Ibid.* p. 8.



THE other *famous episcopal Writer*, in whose Words the Doctor chooses to express himself, is Mr. Ollyffe, in his Answer to the same Dr. Calamy. After making the same Distinction with Mr. Hoadly about the Words of the Preface to the Ordinal, he says, as quoted by the Doctor, that the Preface “does not prove a *divine Appointment*.” That Preface does not undertake to *prove* any Thing. It was drawn up as an explicit Declaration of the Doctrine of the Church of England, relating to the three ecclesiastical Orders which were established, and it says the Evidence in Favour of this Form of Church-Government is contained *in Scripture*, as well as *in ancient Authors*. This looks somewhat *like* an Acknowledgment of a *divine Appointment*. But not to insist upon this. No farther Evidence is required to prove that Episcopacy is of *divine Appointment*, than that it is of *apostolical Appointment*. The Apostles were *inspired Men*, and peculiarly conducted by the Spirit of God in the public Execution of their Office; and for the same Reasons that their *Writings* are of divine Authority, the *ecclesiastical Government* they settled, as to all its essential Parts, must be of divine Authority. But that Episcopacy was of *apostolical Appointment*, Bishop Hoadly thought he could *demonstrate*, and Chillingworth *did* demonstrate, even from the Concessions of its Enemies: And Episcopacy differs *as essentially* from Presbyterianism or Congregationalism or Independency, as Monarchy does from Aristocracy or Democracy.

BUT, says Mr. Ollyffe, as the Doctor quotes him, there were “other Things, in the Apostles Days, which yet for all that are not allowed to be of *divine Appointment*.” This is not accurately



rately expressed ; but I take the Author's Meaning to be, that the Apostles enjoined and practiced some Things, that are generally allowed not to have, at this Day, the Authority of a divine Appointment. This may be true : But if we may judge of others by St. Paul, whenever they gave Directions relating to the Church that were occasional or local, and not of general and perpetual Obligation, to prevent Mistakes, they were careful to signify it. This, we know, in particular, was the Practice of the great "Apostle of the Gentiles ;" who founded more Churches, and issued out more ecclesiastical Injunctions, than any other Apostle. And as to Authority to govern the Church, and to ordain, it must, in the Nature of Things, have continued in those Hands wherein it was originally placed, and in the Hands of such Successors, from Time to Time, as it was regularly conveyed to. There is not the least Intimation in Scripture that the original Form of it might be changed ; nor is there any Appearance that the primitive Church thought it could be changed.

THE Doctor informs us (in a *Note*, p. 21) that, *after long seeking*, he was so lucky as to obtain a *Sight of the OLD Ordinal. The Year in which it was printed is not mentioned*, but he looks upon it to be *one of the first printed Copies, or a Reprint from one of these*, in the Reign of EDWARD VI. The Reasons assigned for his Belief of its Antiquity are, that *it is printed in the Old English Letter*, and that he finds at the Bottom of the Title-Page, "London, printed by R. Barker and J. Bill, Printers  
" to the King's most excellent Majesty." This, I believe, will not procure him an Election into the Society of Antiquarians : For to say nothing of  
the



*the Old English Letter*, which on some Occasions is used to this very Day, *Barker* and *Bill* were Printers to CHARLES I, almost 100 Years after the *old Ordinal* was first printed. But this is a Matter of no Consequence, if they did but give a faithful *Reprint* from a true Copy. Well: Upon comparing the *Preface* as it there stands, with that which is now prefixed to our Ordination-Offices, he finds that it underwent a very material *Alteration* in the Time of CHARLES II. He points out the Variations; but they appear to be of little Consequence, as nothing is expressed in the latter, which is not strongly implied in the former, and which was not as clearly expressed both in the English and Latin Articles of 1552, and of 1562.

BUT he urges, that although none under the present Ordinal *may be looked upon as a lawful Minister* without *episcopal Ordination*, it does not appear that *this was the Case under the old---* and that the *Reviewers* afterwards did not think this an indisputable Point; otherwise they would not have made an *Alteration*, the principal Design of which was to put this Matter beyond all Doubt. I am glad to find that he allows it to be the Design of the Preface to the present Ordinal, to put this Matter beyond all Doubt: For hereby he admits that the Church of England ever since the *Restoration* has maintained the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, contrary to his frequent Assertions. Nor has he been able to prove that *before the Restoration* she held otherwise. But why then was such an Alteration made, if the Point was already secured? A famous *episcopal Writer*, whose Words, the Doctor knows, it may sometimes be prudent to use, instead of one's own, will help us to a proper Answer to this Question.



stion. It was because of "the unhappy Necessity  
 " some learned Men imagined themselves under,  
 " to contradict and obscure it" \*. This Author  
 goes on to observe, that "the Desire they had that  
 " it should not appear of great Consequence, hath  
 " helped mightily to the clearing it. Archbishop  
 " *Usher* may very well appear at the Head of those  
 " who have added great Evidence to this Propo-  
 " sition (viz. Bishops, Priests and Deacons have  
 " been in the Church from the Apostles Days).  
 " If he differed from other *episcopal* Men, the  
 " Difference may well be thought *verbal* and not  
 " *real* ; if we consider the Service he hath done to  
 " Episcopacy, in Opposition to the Presbyterians.  
 " Bishop Pearson and others followed. Dr. Ham-  
 " mond's Dissertations against Blondel (saith Mr.  
 " Chillingworth who uses not to speak unreasonably)  
 " *never were answered, and never will.*" As to what  
 the Doctor says farther in this Note, that *under the  
 old Ordinal, those were admitted to officiate as Mini-  
 sters in the Church of England, who were not episco-  
 pally ordained* ; it will be sufficient here to refer the  
 Reader to the *Appeal defended*, p. 42, where this  
 Point is properly stated and explained ; to which  
 the Doctor, for a very good Reason, has thought  
 proper not to say a Word in Reply.

In another Note, p. 24, (for I must pick up Mat-  
 ters in the Order wherein I find them) he tells us,  
 that *the upper House of Convocation, no longer [ago]  
 than [in] 1702, appear to have been of Opinion, that  
 Episcopacy, upon the Footing of DIVINE APOSTOLICAL  
 INSTITUTION, was not the Doctrine of the Church  
 of England, notwithstanding all that is said in the  
 Preface to the Ordinal.* For this he brings no other  
 Proof,

\* Hoadly's *Reasonableness of Conformity*, p. 109.



Proof, than what Dr. Calamy represents to have passed in an Altercation between the two Houses of Convocation ; wherein, the lower House, representing that *they had been* SCANDALOUSLY represented, by the upper House, as *Favourers of Presbytery, in Opposition to Episcopacy*, make a formal Declaration, that *they acknowledged the Order of Bishops, as superior to Presbyters*, to be of DIVINE APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION ; and afterwards complain, that, on this Account, *they were accused of ascribing too much to Episcopacy*. But as I can obtain no particular Account of that Affair, upon which I can depend, I must content myself with observing, in a general Way, that this Representation is *incredible* in itself, both from what has been already said, and from its being well known that the Majority of those, who must have been Members of the upper House at that Time, fully believed the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy---as appears from their Writings. Yet were the Case exactly as it is here represented, we know that Words, used in the Warmth of Passion, are no Proof of the real Sentiments of those that utter them. I hope every Expression that has escaped the Doctor, during the Heat of the present Controversy is not to be considered as an Evidence of his real Opinion.

As he advances in the Dispute, he waxes stouter and more vigorous in his Opposition to Episcopacy. For, in p. 26, he has the Courage to affirm, that *the Book of Ordination, the Preface to which we have been considering, is formed upon the Supposition, that Presbyters have the Power of Ordination in common with Bishops ; nor can it in any other View be made consistent with itself*. To this I will reply, in the Words of the celebrated Hooker : “ With us,  
even



“ even at this Day, Presbyters are licensed to do  
 “ as much as that Council (the 4th of Carthage)  
 “ speaketh of, if any be present. Yet will not  
 “ any Man thereby conclude, that in this Church  
 “ others than Bishops are allowed to ordain. The  
 “ Association of Presbyters is no sufficient Proof  
 “ that the Power of Ordination is in them; but  
 “ rather, that it *never was* in them we may here-  
 “ by understand; for that no Man is able to  
 “ shew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by  
 “ Presbyters only, and his Ordination accounted  
 “ lawful in any ancient Part of the Church”§.  
 This may serve, at present, as a general Answer to  
 the Doctor’s general Assertion. But we shall soon  
 come to Particulars. For he intends to *dilate upon*  
*the Matter*, as it is a Thing that has not been *com-*  
*monly considered*, by giving a large Extract from Mr.  
*Ferdinand Shaw’s* “ Judgment of the Church of  
 “ England.” He *chuses to exhibit this Extract* the  
 rather, *because it is taken from a Pamphlet he lately*  
*received from the other Side [of] the Atlantic, and*  
 [which] *is, perhaps the ONLY ONE in America;*  
 meaning the only Copy of *that* Pamphlet, for sure-  
 ly he must know that there are other *Pamphlets* in  
 America.

BUT previously to this *Dilatation*, in Answer to  
 my desiring him to try the Experiment, whether  
 he could ‘honestly and consistently’ declare his  
 own Sentiments, concerning Episcopacy, in the  
 Words of the Preface to the Ordinal, he says that  
 he *has tried it, and finds that he can; i. e.* as we  
 are to understand him, *with the Allowance only of*  
 ‘Explanations’ *more natural, and* ‘Interpretations’  
*less softening than Ninety-Nine in a Hundred* (mean-  
 ing

§ Ecclesiastical Polity, Lib. vii. Cap. vi.



ing, of those that do subscribe) *are obliged to recur to, before they can, if they pay any Regard to Conscience, subscribe to the 39 Articles, &c.* The Justice and Propriety, are equal to the Charity, of this Reflection. It is no Proof that he can subscribe to the Words of the *Preface* 'honestly and consistently,' that he can do so with *less* Prevarication than is practiced by many others, on certain Occasions. Nor do Ninety-Nine in a Hundred prevaricate, in subscribing to the Articles of the Church: So far from it, that none, whom he means to asperse, have Occasion to prevaricate at all. The Church of England is not, nor was it ever, founded upon *Calvinistical* Principles, as its Enemies take Pleasure in asserting:---Unless *Calvinism* admits, of a Possibility of falling from Grace, as in *Art. xvi*---of conditional Promises, as in *Art. xvii*---and of universal Redemption by Christ, as in *Art. xxxi*. It is not my Business now to undertake the Proof of this Point; but those that desire to see it proved, in a full and satisfactory Manner, may have Recourse to the proper Authors; particularly, to Bishop Montague's *Appello Cæsarem*---Dr. Heylin's *History of the quinquarticular Controversy*---Bishop Bull's *Apologia pro Harmonia*---Dr. Waterland's *Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscriptions*---An *Apology for the Church of England*, printed in 1732---Three Letters to the Author of the *Confessional*---and Dr. Nowel's *Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis*.

I COME now to attend upon Mr. Ferdinand Shaw. He affirms that in the old Ordinal, *the Form of committing to Bishops and Presbyters their Office and Work, made no Distinction at all in the Order, to which they were admitted.* And again: *What-*  
*ever*



ever spiritual Powers the one had given them, to the other were given the same. Had Bishops the Power of Ordination committed to them, so had Presbyters too, who received the same Commission, by the same Solemnity, in Words of the same Importance, and therefore must be invested with the same divine Office. Such an Assertion must be amazing, to any one that has seen the old Ordinal, or that has any Acquaintance with our ecclesiastical History. This indeed was objected by the Papists, in the Reign of CHARLES II, which, together with other false and groundless Assertions, occasioned Bishop Burnet, then a private Clergyman, to write his *Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*. The popish Writers, especially such of them as are singled out for Disputants, have a Way of their own, and professedly make no Conscience of saying any Thing that has a Tendency to advance their Cause. But Mr. Shaw, I hope, is a Protestant; and Protestants have no Right, contrary to their Profession and Principles, to practice this Art. However, a brief Examination of what is here advanced, may be expected by the Reader.

IF by the Form of committing to Bishops and Presbyters their Office and Work, this Writer means the Offices used at their respective Ordinations, he grossly misrepresents them. For the Titles of the two Offices, the Offices themselves in almost all their Parts, and the whole Face and Appearance of them, are widely different; and they clearly point out and distinguish a Difference of Order. In the Prayer to be used at the End of the Litany, at the Ordination of Priests, God is said to have “appointed divers (*i. e.* more than Two) Orders of Ministers in the Church.” How many,  
and



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 41

and what, these *divers Orders* are, is declared in the general Preface. When a Person presents himself for Ordination according to the Form of the second Office, he knows that he can be made by it no more than a Presbyter. He is asked: "Will you reverently *obey your Ordinary*, and other *chief Ministers* unto whom the *Government and Charge is committed over you*, following with a glad Mind and Will their godly Admonitions, and *submitting* yourself to their godly *Judgments?*" And he answers: "I will do so, the Lord being my Helper." And although the Word *Order*, as it now stands in the new Ordinal, is not always to be found in the corresponding Places of the old; yet it is a Matter of no Consequence, as other Words, such as *Ministry* and *Office*, are used in an equivalent Sense. Thus, when the Archdeacon says to the Bishop, "I present unto you these Persons present to be admitted to the *Order* of Priesthood," the Bishop, immediately addressing the People, says: "these be they whom we purpose, God willing, to receive this Day into the holy *Office* of Priesthood;" and before the Sentence is concluded, he calls it the "holy Ministry," and, in another Place, "the Ministry of the Priesthood."

If it be the Meaning of this Writer, that those particular Words in the Office, by which the Authority is more immediately conveyed, make *no Distinction in the Order*, it is also a Misrepresentation. A Distinction actually is made, and as much as is necessary, even on the Principles of the strictest Episcopalians. The Words at the Ordination of Priests are; "Receive the holy Ghost: Whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven: And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of  
G
" God



“ God and his holy Sacraments ; in the Name,  
 “ &c.” The Bishop, then delivering a Bible, says :  
 “ Take thou Authority to preach the Word of  
 “ God, and to administer the holy Sacraments  
 “ in this Congregation, where thou shalt be *ap-*  
 “ *pointed.*” But in the Ordination of a Bishop, the  
 Words are these : “ Take the Holy Ghost :  
 “ And remember thou stir up the Grace of God  
 “ which is in thee, by Imposition of Hands ; for  
 “ God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but  
 “ of Power, and Love and Soberness.” Then de-  
 livering to him the Bible, the Archbishop charges  
 him “ Give Heed unto Reading, &c. Be to the  
 “ Flock of Christ a *Shepherd*, not a Wolf : Feed  
 “ them, devour them not ; hold up the weak,  
 “ heal the sick, bind together the broken, bring  
 “ again the outcasts, seek the lost ; be so merciful  
 “ that you be not too remiss : So minister Discip-  
 “ line, that you forget not Mercy, that when the  
 “ Shepherd shall come, you may receive the im-  
 “ marcessible Crown of Glory, through Jesus Christ  
 “ our Lord.” Who does not here see a very wide  
 and material Difference ? The Words, “ receive,  
 “ or take, the Holy Ghost,” are indeed the same  
 in both Offices ; they are general, and make no  
 Distinction. But in the Ordination of Presbyters,  
 a Distinction, of their Office from that of Bishops,  
 immediately follows. They are declared to have,  
 and the Declaration implies that they only have,  
 in Virtue of that Ordination, the Power of ab-  
 solving Penitents, and of dispensing the Word and  
 Sacraments, and that in such Congregations only  
 as they should be appointed to. Here is not the  
 least Appearance of episcopal Powers, nor of any  
 Authority which is not at this Day given, by the  
 Church of England, to Presbyters. But in the  
 Ordination



Ordination of Bishops, there is none of this Restraint; the Words are left general, as they were used by Christ in ordaining his Apostles; and all the ordinary Authority, which they were originally intended to express, is conveyed by them without Diminution. So that in one Case, there is only a limited Commission given; but in the other, a Commission without any Restriction or Limitation, and consequently extending to *all* ecclesiastical Offices, which, in Fact, is also intended.

FOR it may be added, that were the Words exactly the same in both Cases, provided they were general, as in the original Commission given to the Apostles; it would not follow, that no farther Powers were given in the Ordination of a Bishop, than in that of a Presbyter. For a new Ordination necessarily supposes an Intention to convey some new Powers. Bishop Burnet justly argues on the Subject, in the following Manner: “ It is to be  
 “ considered, that ecclesiastical Orders being from  
 “ the Influence and Operation of the Holy Ghost,  
 “ which being one, yet hath *different Operations*  
 “ for the *different Administrations*; therefore the  
 “ concomitant Actions, Words and Circumstances  
 “ must shew, for *which* Administration the Holy  
 “ Ghost is prayed for, since that general Prayer  
 “ is made for all; but the Functions being dif-  
 “ ferent, the same Holy Ghost works differently  
 “ in them all. Therefore it is plain from the Prac-  
 “ tice of our Saviour, that there is no Need of  
 “ expressing in the very Words of Ordination,  
 “ *what* Power is thereby given, since our Saviour  
 “ did not express it, but what he said both before  
 “ and after, did determine the Sense of those ge-  
 “ neral Words to the apostolical Function. The  
 G 2. “ whole



“ whole Office of consecrating Bishops (for In-  
 “ stance) shews very formally and expressly, what  
 “ Power is given in these (general) Words. Now  
 “ though the Writers of the Church of *Rome*,  
 “ would place the Form of Consecration in some  
 “ imperative Words ; yet we see no Reason for  
 “ that, but the Complex of the whole Office is  
 “ that which is chiefly to be considered, and must  
 “ determine the Sense of those Words. So that  
 “ a Priest being presented to be made a Bishop,  
 “ the King’s Mandate being read for that Effect,  
 “ he swearing canonical Obedience as Bishop Elect,  
 “ Prayers being put up for him as such, together with  
 “ other Circumstances which make it plain what  
 “ they are about ; those general Words are by  
 “ these qualified and restrained to that Sense†.”

HERE, in a *Note*, the Doctor steps in with his  
 old *Reprint*, and endeavours to prove from it that  
 Bishops and Presbyters *were esteemed one and the*  
*same Order*, by the Compilers of that Ordinal. For  
 it is *worthy of special Remark*, says he, that *previ-*  
*ous* (meaning *previously*) *to the Ordination of Priests,*  
*Acts xx. from the 19th to the 24th Verse* (he should  
 have said, from the 17th to the 35th inclusive)  
*was appointed to be read for the Epistle ; which must*  
*be esteemed highly impertinent, if they were not, as*  
*EPISCOPOI to RULE (POIMANEIN) as well as feed*  
*the Church of God.* That Portion of Scripture  
 contains an Account of St. Paul’s Interview with  
 the Elders from Ephesus ; at which he informs  
 them in what Manner he had conducted himself in  
 the Execution of the apostolical Office, gives them  
 a solemn Charge to attend to the Duties of their Mi-  
 nistry, and concludes with an affectionate Leave and  
 Benediction.

† Burnet’s *Vindication of the Ordinations*, &c. p. 64.



Benediction. Such an Example, and such an Exhortation, might, I conceive, very properly be recommended to the careful Consideration of every Candidate for the Orders, either of a Bishop, or a Priest, or even of a Deacon. St. Paul sometimes proposes his own Example as a Pattern for Christians in common; and it may, with peculiar Propriety, be proposed for the Imitation of Clergymen. This is hinted, on the Supposition that the Elders from Ephesus were possessed of those Powers, which are appropriated to Bishops. But there is no Certainty that they were more than Presbyters. Many learned Men, and Hooker and Hoadly among others, are clear in the Opinion, that the Elders above-mentioned were nothing more: And this may have been the Opinion of the Compilers of the Ordinal.

THE Doctor farther urges, that *Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.* or else *John xx. 19---24,* is appointed for the Gospel; *both which Passages of Scripture contain the highest Commission of Gospel-Officers.* But if the Commission for the subordinate Degrees of ecclesiastical Officers is included in this general Commission to the Apostles, and if they can produce no other original Commission than is contained in this; then, these Passages of Scripture might, with no *Inconsistency*, be appointed to be read at the Ordination of Presbyters. And *the Reviewers of the old Ordinal*, after the Restoration, might have removed them into the Office for the Ordination of Bishops, not because they believed them to be *not proper* to be used at the Ordination of Priests, but, from an Opinion that they were *more proper* at the Consecration of Bishops.



In another *Note*, p. 28, the Doctor farther argues to the same Purpose, from the *Additions* in the new Ordinal. At the Ordination of Priests, after the Words, “receive the Holy Ghost,” these Words are added, FOR THE OFFICE AND WORK OF A PRIEST ;---and, at the Consecration of Bishops, after the like Words, these Words are added, FOR THE OFFICE AND WORK OF A BISHOP. By this he seems to think, that, according to the old Ordinal, Bishops were not ordained for the Office and Work of Bishops, nor Priests for that of Priests, because those particular Words were not used on the Occasion. But with the same Force and Propriety he might have argued, that the Apostles were not commissioned, by our blessed Saviour, for *the Office and Work* of Apostles, because these Words are not found in the Commission. But it was sufficient, that the Compilers of the old Ordinal declared, in the Front of it, their Acknowledgment and Belief of three distinct Orders in the Church---that they composed a particular and distinct Office for the Ordination of each Order---that there could be no Dispute to *which* of these Orders, any particular Person, by his Ordination, was admitted, nor what were the peculiar Duties of his Office---and that all this was approved of, and consented to, by the Bishops and Clergy, and established by the King and Parliament. After all, it is not denied that the Alterations and Amendments, introduced into the new Ordinal, were a real Improvement ; and particularly, as Words are therein used with greater Precision.

THE Doctor has another *Note* in the like Strain, in p. 29 ; but after what has been said in Answer to the preceding, it would be a needless Expence of  
of



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 47

of Time, Paper and Patience, to make a particular Reply to it.

I NOW return to Mr. Shaw. His Design in the Remainder of this Extract, extending from p. 29 to 35, is no less than to prove, that the Church of England at this Day allows Presbyters to have the Power of Ordination, as inherently and essentially as Bishops themselves. The Attempt is arduous and romantic, and should it appear that he has miscarried in the Execution, still it may be said of him, as was said of a notable Adventurer before him,

-----*magnis tamen excidit Ausis.*

THAT the Church of England allows to Presbyters the Power of *ordaining*, he endeavours to prove, in the first Place, from the *Rubric* in the Office for the Ordination of Priests, which requires that *the Bishop with the PRIESTS present shall lay their Hands severally upon the Head of every one that receiveth the Order of Priesthood.* This *Rubric*, as well as every other Rule or Injunction, ought to be interpreted according to the Sense in which it is established by Authority, if that Sense can be certainly known. But could it be the Intention of the Church in this *Rubric*, to contradict the whole Tenor of the Ordinal, and every Declaration and Intimation that she had made and given, relating to the Subject? Was there ever an episcopal Church, in any Age, that allowed the Power of Ordination to be in any other Hands, than of Bishops? Was it the Opinion of those who were commissioned to review the old Ordinal, and frame the new one, or of any Individual in that Commission, that all the Presbyters



Presbyters in the Kingdom, convened in one Body, could effectually ordain a single Presbyter?---Or, that any Bishop in the Kingdom had not, as essential to his Office, the full Power of Ordination in himself? If this was not the Opinion of those Reviewers, nor of the Governors of the Church, nor of the civil Authority, at that Time; we may be certain that the *Rubric* means no such Thing, and is an Evidence of no such Thing, as it is alledged to prove. It requires indeed that the Bishop shall admit the Priests, that are present, to join with him in the Imposition of Hands; but it does not say, nor give the least Intimation, that it is with a View of rendering the Ordination more valid and compleat, than it would have been by the Imposition of the Bishop's Hands only. Every Imposition of Hands is not with a Design to ordain; and there is the highest Evidence, that, in this Case, Ordination is not the Design of the Church in general, nor of the Bishop that officiates, nor of the Presbyters themselves who practice this Rite. If the Presbyters convey any spiritual Authority, it is without their own Knowledge and Intention, and by a barely mechanical Operation.

THE Imposition of the Hands of Presbyters, in Conjunction with those of the Bishop, has been practiced in every Age of the Church, in a greater or less Degree; but it was never thought to be any Part, much less an *essential* Part, of Ordination, as this Writer calls it. The Practice was common and almost universal, in the fourth Century. A Canon of the 4th Council of Carthage, is thus worded: "Presbyter cum ordinatur, &c. *i. e.* when  
 " a Presbyter is ordained, while the Bishop pro-  
 " nounces the Blessing, and lays his Hand upon his  
 Head



“ Head, all the Presbyters that are present shall lay  
 “ their Hands, by the Bishop’s Hand, upon his  
 “ Head also.” At that Time flourished St. *Jerom*,  
 who was thoroughly acquainted with the Customs  
 of the Church, and knew that the Imposition of  
 the Hands of Presbyters, at the Ordination of a  
 Fellow-Presbyter, was the daily Practice. But did  
 he believe that the Power of Ordination, or any  
 Part of that Power, was exercised by Presbyters?  
 So far from it, that in his famous Epistle to *Eva-*  
*grius*, wherein he endeavours to exalt their Order as  
 high as possible, he confesses, that, from the Acts  
 or Offices which they perform in common with Bi-  
 shops, *Ordination* must be *excepted*. If therefore the  
 Imposition of the Hands of Presbyters in St. Je-  
 rom’s Time, was no Proof of their having Power  
 to ordain, it can be no Proof now†.

THIS Writer insists upon it, that the Imposition  
 of the Hands of Presbyters, in this Case, must be  
 for the Purpose of Ordination; because it cannot  
 be pretended that it *does only signify their witnessing*  
*to, or approbating, the Thing done*. But why not  
*witnessing*? This, he says, *might as well be done by*  
*the Laity who are present, or the Deacons*. All that  
 are present are undoubtedly Witnesses of the Tran-  
 saction, but in some Cases *chosen Witnesses* may be  
 thought proper, as is appointed in the Office of  
 Baptism for *Adults*, although the whole Congrega-  
 tion are Witnesses at the same Time. Or, why not  
*approbating*? Is there any Impropriety in calling  
 upon the Clergy that are present, to signify their  
 Consent to, and *Approbation* of, the Ordination of

H a par-

† See the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Lib. viii. Cap. 28,  
 where it is said of a Presbyter: “ *Benedictionem recipit ab*  
 “ *Episcopo, et a Compresbytero; eamque pariter Com-*  
 “ *presbytero dat; Manus imponit, NON ORDINAT.*”



a particular Person to that sacred Office, with which they have been invested themselves? And may not the Imposition of Hands, in the Manner required, be the established Sign of it? It is true, the Church has not said that this is the Intention; nor certainly has it said that Ordination is the Intention. And where no explicit Declarations are made by the Church of its Views and Intentions, every Person is left to judge of them by the Evidence he can collect.

A N O T H E R Argument that Presbyters in the Church of England have *ordaining Powers*, is founded by this Writer on the Use of the Word *OUR*, in the Act of Ordination, where the Bishop says: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and  
" Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now  
" committed unto thee by the Imposition of *OUR*  
" Hands." To this a very brief Answer is sufficient. There are Instances of the like Use of the same Word in our public Offices, which if they will not prove what it positively *does* mean, will however enable us to determine what it *does not* mean. At the Baptism of Infants, the officiating Clergyman prays: "Grant that whosoever is here  
" dedicated to thee by *OUR* Office and Ministry,  
&c: "---And at the Baptism of Adults: "Grant  
" that they being dedicated to thee by *OUR* Office  
" and Ministry, &c. Now in these Places, the Word *OUR* certainly does not mean, that those who are present assist in the Administration of Baptism, or that this Ordinance is not administered by the Priest only: And therefore we may depend upon it, that at the Ordination of a Presbyter, it does not mean, that the Ordination is not performed by the Bishop only. What the Word  
actually



actually does mean, is not my Business here to determine.

I HAVE now done with Mr. Shaw ; having shewn the Weakness of his Arguments, and having answered or obviated all that he or the Doctor says in Support of them. Indeed I might have taken Notice, that both of them seem to proceed on the Supposition, that whatever is ordered by Authority, is enjoined as *equally* necessary or important. According to this Mode of thinking, the Church of England makes wearing a Surplice as necessary as the public Service ; and the Circumstance of kneeling at the Communion to be as essential, as the great Duty of receiving that holy Sacrament. And then, to be sure, the Imposition of the Hands of Presbyters at the Ordination of a Priest, must be as essential to the Validity of the Performance, as the Imposition of the Bishop's Hands, since both are ordered in the same *Rubric*. But such an absurd Way of Reasoning deserves not a formal Refutation ; and I am under some Apprehension that I may be thought, by the sensible Reader, to have been already too particular in replying to Things of this Nature. I shall therefore not stop a Moment to make any Reflections upon such a gross Misrepresentation of the Ordinal, and of the Church of England ; but proceed immediately to other Matters.

In his *Answer* to the *Appeal*, the Doctor urged, that if the Preface to the Ordinal were explained by what appears to have been the Sentiments of those that compiled it, it would not prove that the Church of England was episcopal, at that Time, in the Sense of the *Appeal*. It was replied, that the Sense of any Church must be taken from



her public Offices and Declarations, and not from the known or supposed Sentiments of Individuals. It was farther observed, that as to the Compilers of the English Ordinal, it did not appear that their private Sentiments were different from what they publickly expressed; but, on the other Hand, that there was sufficient Evidence to convince the impartial, that the principal Persons employed in that Service believed the divine, or apostolical Institution of Episcopacy. In Order to shew this, I entered into a particular Examination of the Subject, and took proper Notice of all that Dr. Chauncy had alledged, in Support of the contrary. I considered the Evidence contained in the INSTITUTION, and ERUDITION, *of a Christian Man*, composed and published under the Direction of Archbishop CRANMER, in the Reign of HENRY VIII, as far as I could collect it from Collier's Abstract, and from other Accounts.

ON this Examination, the INSTITUTION appeared favourable to the Doctrine of Episcopacy; and a Passage was produced, wherein, among other Things, it is said, that "Bishops are authorised by our Saviour to *continue the Succession*, and *perpetuate the HIERARCHY*." The Doctor indeed had quoted Dr. Calamy's Quotation, from the INSTITUTION and ERUDITION, of the following Sentence: "Priests and Bishops *by Gods Law* are one and the same; and the Power of Ordination and Excommunication belongs *equally* to them both." These two Sentences are contradictory; and the true Way of settling the Point, whether they are fairly extracted or not, would be to have Recourse to the Books themselves, which is not in my Power. But, from Collier's Account,  
I suspect



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 53

I suspect there is some Mistake made, either by Dr. Calamy or Dr. Chauncy, and that if their Quotation is made fairly, it is from the ERUDITION only, and not from the INSTITUTION. If the Doctor will prove that I am mistaken, and that the Sentence quoted is contained in the INSTITUTION, I will allow that it greatly weakens the Evidence I produced from it on the other Side, as, on that Supposition, he argues justly, in p. 37. But since I have as high an Opinion of Collier's Honesty, as he has of Calamy's, he must not expect me to give up the Testimony of my Author, because it is contradicted by his. But if it should be found on the other Hand, that the Doctor's Quotation, from Calamy, is not fairly made from the INSTITUTION; and mine, from Collier, or the Substance of it, is: Then my Argument is conclusive, and all that he says in Reply to it falls of Course.

As to the ERUDITION, I allowed that it had, in Collier's Abstract, such a doubtful Appearance, that nothing could be justly concluded from it, but that the Principles of the Reformers were, at this Time, with Regard to some Points, in an unsettled, fluctuating State. It contained Passages, if not directly contradictory, yet which I knew not how to reconcile, to one another. In one Place it says: "the Scripture speaks expressly of no more than the two Orders of Priests and Deacons." And yet, in other Places, according to Collier, that the two Orders (of Bishops and Priests) were distinct and subordinate, *is plain from this ERUDITION.*" But then, as was observed farther, this Book was drawn up only by a Committee appointed by the King, and did not express the general



ral Sense of the Church as the INSTITUTION did, which was formally consented to by both Houses of Convocation. The Doctor says, p. 39, there is no Difficulty in reconciling the Passages I had quoted. For *if, as these Reformers say, "the Scripture makes mention of only the two orders of Priests and Deacons," Bishops cannot in their Opinion be a distinct Order from Priests; and consequently, what is ascribed to the Bishop, is ascribed to an Officer of the same Rank with Priests.* On this Supposition, the Conclusion indeed is just. But if, as Collier asserts, who knew more of the Matter than either of us, it "is plain from this ERUDITION, that the two Orders are distinct and subordinate;" I fancy it will puzzle a Man, even of the Doctor's Dexterity, to reconcile all the Parts of that Book, or so much as the Passages quoted.

AFTER all, the Sentiments of the Bishops and Clergy at *this Period*, were not considered as of any great Consequence in this Dispute. The INSTITUTION was published in 1537, and the ERUDITION in 1540, for temporary Use, while the Nation was but just emerging from Popery, and before it had Time to purge itself from the old Leaven (§). To perform so great a Work properly, required much Time and Caution. Of this, Cranmer and his Associates were duly sensible; and, for the Honour of the English Reformation, they proceeded with much greater Coolness and Deliberation, than the Reformers in any other Country had done. And the Method they pursued was, to consider distinctly one Doctrine after another, with the closest

(§) See the Extracts from Bramhall and Burnet, in the *Appeal Defended*, p. 25.



closest Attention, until the whole System should be examined, and placed on the sure Basis of Scripture Authority, as was observed in my *Defence*. As a Proof of this, the several *Questions* given out to the most eminent Divines for their Examination and Decision, were pointed out. 'For it was at *this Time*, and not Ten Years afterwards, in the Reign of EDWARD VI, as Dr. Chauncy, following his blind Guide the IRENICUM, asserts, that these *Questions* were given out for Discussion, as is plain from Bishop Burnet†, with whom Strype agrees†. To this he replies, p. 40, *If this is plain from Bishop Burnet, he is the blind Guide to the Doctor, and not the Irenicum to me. For it is observable, these Questions with the Resolutions of them are published by Bishop Burnet* 'ex. M. S. S. D. Stillingfleet,' as his own Words are.

It is a Matter of great Importance in this Dispute, to settle the Time *when* these *Questions* were given out and answered. Bishop Burnet says it was in 1540; the Author of the *Irenicum*, that it was long afterwards in the Reign of EDWARD VI. One of them must be wrong, and the Question is, which of them is the *blind Guide*. It ought not to be supposed that either of them intended to deceive his Readers; but one of them must have been deceived himself. *Which* then, was most likely to have made the Mistake?

AND here it deserves Notice, that Stillingfleet wrote his *Irenicum* with evident Haste and Precipitation, and under the Influence of a Zeal bordering upon Impetuosity. The Doctor knows, that Writers

† The *Appeal defended*, p. 24.  
Cranmer, p. 78.

† Memorials of



ters in these Circumstances are liable even to mistake *Facts*; and *Dates* are more easily mistaken by them, especially when they appear not to affect the chief Object in View. Thus the Author of the *Irenicum*, when he became cooler, and took a Retrospect of his Performance, candidly confessed, that it contained many Passages that shewed his Youth, and want of Attention.

BUT the *History of the Reformation* was the Work of Time, written with Composure and Caution. In adjusting the materials for his History, which chiefly consisted of original Manuscripts, the Author was obliged carefully to attend to the Circumstance of Dates. In this Way he became so minutely acquainted with the Progress of the Reformation, that, from the very Nature and Words of those *Questions* and *Answers*, he must have been able to arrange them in their proper Place, even if the Date had been omitted. And what renders his Account the more credible is, that he assigns a special Reason for issuing out the *Questions*, viz. That the Committee, which was appointed to review and correct the *Institution*, might be able to do it to better Purpose. For he represents them to have been given out during the Course of that Work, and when the Part relating to the Doctrine of the *Seven Sacraments*, as they were then called, came under Consideration.

BUT notwithstanding these obvious Remarks in Favour of the *History*, the Doctor is positive that Stillingfleet must have been right, and Burnet wrong, because the latter made Use of the *Manuscripts* of the former. It is strange, that a Man of Sense can think this has any *Appearance* of Reasoning.



ing. If Burnet had transcribed *from* the *Irenicum*, his Date must have been corrected *by* it; but to infer, that, because he consulted the same *Manuscripts* that the Author of the *Irenicum* had consulted, THEREFORE his *History* must be corrected by the *Irenicum*, in the Instance before us, is a Specimen of new Logic, and curious it is. For my Part, I think it much more reasonable to conclude, that the *Irenicum*, in this Particular, should be corrected by the *History*; because the Historian consulted the same *Manuscripts*, and yet altered the controverted Date as published in the *Irenicum*; which he would not have done without sufficient Reason while the Author, who was his intimate Friend, was living, and might contradict him if he could. But more direct Evidence shall be produced presently.

LET us at present attend to the Doctor. *Nay*, says he, *Bishop Burnet himself was of the same Mind*, viz. That the *Questions* and *Answers* above-mentioned passed in the Reign of EDWARD VI: And to prove it, he transcribes from him, Words which make it evident that his own Assertion is false. Let the Reader see with his own Eyes, and wonder! “ I find, says the Historian, *another Instance like this*, in the Reformation that was farther carried on in the succeeding Reign of EDWARD VI; of many Bishops and Divines giving in their Opinions under their Hands, upon *some Heads* then examined and changed||.” The Author is here evidently speaking of the very *Questions* and *Answers* under Consideration, a Copy of which he inserts in his *Appendix* to the *first Volume* of his *History*, and part of which had been published in the *Irenicum*. He says that they were  
I given

|| The *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 289.



given out at the Time when the ERUDITION was preparing. He speaks of such a careful Method of proceeding, as an Evidence of the great Prudence used in the English Reformation. He takes notice indeed, that there was *another* Instance of the *like* Care in the next Reign. But the Papers that passed, in *like* Manner, in the next Reign, are so far from being the same with those under Consideration, that here is not the least Intimation that they related to the same Subjects; it being only said, that the Bishops and Divines at that Time, gave in their Opinions upon *some* Heads, then examined and changed. It would have been very natural for him to have said, *the same Heads*, unless they were different.

WHEN he comes to the Time, to which he refers, in the Reign of King EDWARD, he says:  
 “ This Winter (1548) there was a Committee of  
 “ selected Bishops and Divines appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for  
 “ reforming them.---The Thing they first examined was the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; which  
 “ being the chief Symbol of Christian Communion, was thought to deserve their chief Care.  
 “ And *here* they managed their Enquiries in the  
 “ *same Manner* that was used in the former Reign;  
 “ in which when any Thing was considered in Order to a Change, it was put into several *Queries*,  
 “ to which every one in Commission was to give his  
 “ *Answer in writing*. It is no Wonder if the Confusions, that followed in Queen Mary’s Reign,  
 “ have deprived us of most of these Papers; yet  
 “ there is *one Set* of them preserved, relating  
 “ (N. B. ) to some *Questions about the Priests single communicating*.” What was naturally to be inferred



ferred from the former Passage, is fully expressed in this. The Historian says plainly, that the *Questions* given out in the Reign of King EDWARD, and to which he had refered in his former Volume, related to the *Eucharist*, as it was thought at that Time “to deserve the chief Care”. HERE, says he, *i. e.* in examining the Doctrine of the *Eucharist*, they proceeded “*in the same Manner* that “was used in the former Reign.” He does not intimate that the *Queries* now given out related to any other Subject, than that of the *Eucharist*; so far from it, that the Words, and the whole Structure of the Passage, necessarily imply that they did not. He moreover says, that most of the Papers that passed on that Occasion, are *lost*; however, that *one Set* of them has been preserved, a Copy of which he publishes in the *Appendix* to his *second Volume*. The Questions, in this only Set of Papers remaining, he tells us, related to “the “Priests single communicating;” and upon Inspection, there is not one of them that appears to have any more Reference to the Doctrine of Episcopacy, than to that of the *Copernican System*. It is now as clear as the Meridian Sun in an unclouded Sky, that *Bishop Burnet himself* was NOT of the same Mind with my Opponent, but affirmed and proved the contrary---that, with Regard to the *Date* in Question, the *Irenicum* was the ‘blind ‘Guide’---and that the Doctor is blinder still, who out-faces a much brighter Evidence than was attended to by the Author of the *Irenicum*.§

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§ It is a more difficult Task than most Readers imagine, to deal with an Adversary that can misrepresent Matters, at this Rate. To speak *plainly* of such Conduct, has the Appearance of *Abuse* and *Scurrility*, which disgrace any Writer; and



HAVING settled the Date of the *Questions* and *Answers* aforesaid, and fixed it to 1540, I must again remind the Reader, that it was ‘about Ten ‘Years before the Offices for Ordination were composed,’ and before Cranmer appears to have settled his ecclesiastical Principles. It is therefore no wonder that, as Bishop Burnet observes, “in Cranmer’s “Paper, some singular Opinions of his about ecclesiastical Offices will be found.” But it deserves special Notice, that as this Historian goes on to inform us, “afterwards he *changed* his Opinion. “For he subscribed the Book that was soon after “set out [*the ERUDITION*] which is, (the very thing that Collier affirmed of it) “*directly contrary* to “those Opinions set down in these Papers\*.”

As a farther Proof that Cranmer altered his Opinion *soon afterwards*, it was alledged, on the Authority of Doctor *Durel*, that he subscribed to the *Two Opinions* of Dr. Leighton, in these very Papers, that were favourable to Episcopacy. That Author says, that upon examining the original *Manuscript*,

and yet, on some Occasions, not to speak plainly, is an Injury to the Cause of Truth, and Injustice to the Public. The Author of this *farther Defence* is thus unluckily situated. He is sensible of the Duty he owes to Truth, and to the Public; at the same Time, he wishes not to be wanting in that Charity, which “hopeth all Things, endureth all “Things.” It pains him to entertain a hard Thought, or to speak a harsh Word, of any Man; and yet he sometimes finds both to be unavoidable, when thinking and speaking of a Man, who is in high Estimation with many People, and whose Character he greatly respected, at the Commencement of this Controversy. In this critical Situation, as he knows the great Danger of acting improperly, he will be upon his Guard; and he hopes to meet with that Candor, which is not extreme to mark what, in such Circumstances, may be done amiss.

\* *Hist. Ref.* Vol. I, p. 289.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 61

*Manuscript*, he found *Th. Cantuariensis* subscribed to both; which is omitted, either negligently or unaccountably, in Bishop Burnet's Copy. The Doctor objects to the Evidence of Durel, *which*, says he, p. 42, *is no Evidence at all, if Mr. Boyse may be believed, who speaks of him as* "an Author too notorious for his many Falsehoods and mistakes in this Kind to be depended on." But some have given the same Character of Mr. Boyse himself. Be that as it may, Dr. Durel's Character is not to be taken from Mr. Boyse, nor from any other Writer against Episcopacy. He had said and done too much in Favour of it, to expect fair Treatment from such as oppose it. He had shewn that this Form of Government was held in high Veneration by all the reformed Churches abroad; that the Church of England was greatly commended and honoured by them for establishing it; and that the English Dissenters were utterly condemned by them for disobeying and rejecting it. For this he was treated, in his Life Time, with the grossest Scurrility by Hickman, and plentifully abused by Dr. du Moulin; but it ought not to be forgotten that the latter of these Writers had the Grace to repent of this Conduct, and retract it, in his "LAST WORDS." Some People since have copied his Abuse, but not his Repentance. Durel was well known in almost all the reformed Churches in Europe. In some of them he received Preferment, and might have received it in others; and the many Letters still extant, written to him by the most eminent foreign Protestants of his Time, demonstrate that his Reputation was great, and his Character respectable. Having thus shewn the Credibility of this Witness, it is not doubted but the candid will admit, upon his *positive* Testimony,

ny,



ny, that the *two Opinions* of Dr. Leighton were actually consented to by Cranmer, and signed *Th. Cantuariensis*; notwithstanding the *negative Evidence* of Bishop Burnet.

FROM that Time, viz. 1540, ‘ I find in this  
 ‘ great Reformer no Fluctuation of Principles ;  
 ‘ but many Proofs appear of his settled and steady  
 ‘ Belief, that Bishops are superior to Presbyters, by  
 ‘ apostolical Institution\*.’ Here Reference was  
 particularly made to the *Catechism* he published in  
 1543, in which, Bishop Burnet who had seen it  
 says, “ he fully owns the *divine* Institution of Bi-  
 “ shops.” To this the Doctor replies. p. 46 ;  
*Could a Sight of this Catechism be obtained, it is*  
 PROBABLE *it might be in our Power to refute what*  
*it here said from Bishop Burnet.* We see, that,  
 however firmly the Doctor relies upon the Bishop’s  
*negative Evidence*, when in his Favour, he will  
 allow but little Weight to his *positive Evidence*,  
 when it makes against him ; and that he offers his  
 own bare groundless *Supposition*, as sufficient to  
 confute it.

I AM not able to obtain a Sight of that *Cate-  
 chism*, any more than the Doctor. It is extremely  
 scarce at this Day ; however, some Copies are ex-  
 tant, and there is one, in particular, in the Arch-  
 bishop’s Library at Lambeth. A Gentleman of  
 eminent Integrity, and whose literary Fame is well  
 known both at home and abroad, writes, in a Let-  
 ter dated Feb. 16, 1770, that he had read this  
 Copy more than once, and had made Extracts  
 from it, among which he finds the following.  
 “ First, it is necessary to our Salvation to have  
 “ Preachers

\* *Appeal defended*, p. 30.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 63

“ Preachers and Ministers of God’s Word to in-  
“ struct us in the true Faith and Knowledge of  
“ God. Secondly, that Preachers must not as-  
“ sume this Honour to themselves, but must be  
“ ordained and appointed to this Office. For as  
“ it is impossible to be saved without Faith, and  
“ we cannot believe without being taught of o-  
“ thers, so Teachers, except they be sent, cannot  
“ fruitfully teach. For the Seed of God’s Word  
“ doth never bring forth Fruit unless the Lord of  
“ the Harvest do give Increase, and by his Holy  
“ Spirit work with the Sower : but God doth not  
“ work with the Preacher whom he hath not sent.---  
“ To know who are sent, you are to understand that  
“ when our Lord Jesus Christ began to preach, he  
“ called and chose his 12 Apostles ; and afterwards  
“ besides these Twelve, he sent forth Three Score  
“ and Ten Disciples and gave them Authority to  
“ preach the Gospel. And a little before his Death  
“ and Passion he made his Prayer to his heavenly  
“ Father for them, and for all those who should  
“ believe through their preaching. John xvii.---  
“ And after Christ’s Ascension, the Apostles gave  
“ Authority to other holy Men to minister God’s  
“ Word. Where they found Men fit to preach  
“ God’s Word they laid their Hands upon them  
“ and gave them the Holy Ghost as they them-  
“ selves received the same Holy Ghost of Christ  
“ to execute this Office. And they that were so  
“ ordained were indeed, and also were called the  
“ Ministers of God as the Apostles themselves  
“ were. And thus the Ministration of God’s  
“ Word (which our Lord Jesus Christ himself  
“ did first institute) was derived from the Apostles  
“ Time to our Days. And this was the Consecra-  
“ tion, Orders and Unction of the Apostles, where-  
“ by



“ by they at the Beginning made Bishops and  
 “ Priests, and this shall continue in the Church to  
 “ the World’s End.”

THIS Passage, which is undoubtedly a faithful Transcript, is sufficient to prove Bishop Burnet’s Assertion. For it maintains a Difference of Orders by *divine Institution*, between the *Seventy*, who could only minister the Word, and the *Apostles*, who could also appoint others; and it asserts that the Power, whereby Bishops and Priests were originally appointed, shall continue to the End of the World. I shall make no farther Remarks upon it; the curious Reader can examine the Passage at his Leisure.

It was mentioned as a farther Proof that when Cranmer had once settled his ecclesiastical Principles, he steadily adhered to them; that in his Sermon, *of the Authority of the Keys*, published together with his *Catechism*, ‘ his Notions of Episcopacy and Church-Government are so high, ‘ that even the *high-flying* Dr. Hicks reprinted it ‘ at large, in his Preface to, “ the divine Right of “ Episcopacy asserted.” The Doctor replies: *This Sermon is, I conclude, the very one repaired to by Mr. Drury in Order to prove that Cranmer retracted his Opinion about Bishops and Priests; to whom Mr. Boyse replies, “ the Passage he has cited “ in this Sermon no Way asserts Priests and Bishops to be at the Beginning two distinct Orders.”* So then; the Sermon, it seems, does not prove the Point for which it is alledged, because a particular Passage in the Sermon does not prove it; and that Passage does not prove it, because Mr. Boyse says it does not. But any one, who is acquainted with



with Dr. Hicks's Character and Writings, must know that he was as good a Judge, in this Case, as Mr. Boyse; and his Inducement to publish the Sermon, if it made not for his Purpose, surely was not equal to Mr. Boyse's Temptation, after it was published, to say that it was not for his Purpose, when it really was.

THE Doctor after denying that the Reformed Church of England was originally episcopal, had said, in the Words of Mr. J. Owen, that the Doctrine of Episcopacy, as now contended for, was "FIRST promoted in the Church of England by Archbishop Laud." It was answered: 'There may indeed be some secret Meaning in the Word *promoted*, which I do not comprehend; but until it be unfolded, I must take the Liberty to believe, that the national Establishment of this Doctrine, again and again, and making it a fundamental Principle of the Reformation, was doing something to *promote* it\*.' In his *Reply*, p. 48, he thus explains himself: *Archbishop Laud, without all Doubt, was the first---in Opposition to any national Establishment, or its being at all a Principle, much less a fundamental one of the Reformation, that openly asserted and pleaded for the Doctrine.* This *Responje* is more *oracular* and *mysterious* than the former. If the Reader can understand such Language, I am free to confess, that he has more Sagacity than falls to my Lot. Laud never asserted and pleaded for this Doctrine in *Opposition* to any national Establishment, but in *Conformity* with our own, as he proved at his Trial||. I said not

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that

\* The *Appeal defended*, p. 32.

|| See the History of his Troubles and Tryal, by Wharton, p. 376.



that he pleaded for the apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, as a fundamental Principle of the Church of England, which I know not that he ever did, in so many Words; but what I said was, that its having been established as such, proves that it had been *promoted* before his Time. But I will not enlarge. As I understand not this confused Sentence, I may mistake its Meaning, or give it a Meaning where it has none.

It was farther answered, that ‘ if the Meaning  
 ‘ of the Word *promoted*, be, that none before Arch-  
 ‘ bishop Laud contended for the Superiority of  
 ‘ Bishops over Presbyters, by divine Appointment,  
 ‘ in their *Writings*, I must still deny it; as I am  
 ‘ able to produce abundant Evidence to the con-  
 ‘ trary.’ This, I believe, was Part, if not the  
 whole, of the Doctor’s original Meaning; and I  
 proved his Mistake, by producing many Authors  
 before Laud, that contended for this Doctrine in  
 their Writings. He now half confesses his Mistake,  
 by saying that for this Assertion he depended upon  
 the Authority of Mr. J. Owen. I advise him to  
 be more careful for the future, upon what Authors  
 he puts his Dependence; for some of them, if  
 trusted too freely, will bring one into Trouble.  
 The Doctor comforts himself however, that, in the  
 present Case, his Mistake is but trifling. *Of what*  
*great Importance is it*, says he, *whether he* (Laud)  
*was the first, second, third or fourth that contended*  
*for this Doctrine?* In his former Pamphlet he urged  
 it as a Point of great Importance. This brought  
 on the Dispute, whether the Fact was as he asser-  
 ted it. In this Dispute, such as it is, the only  
 Question was, whether Laud in Reality was the  
 first that maintained the Doctrine, or not. If he  
 was



was the second only, he could not be the first, in the Sense of the Question. So plain a Case has but little need of Illustration: However, let us suppose the Doctor had asserted that Lord Anson was the first that had sailed round the Globe, and had insisted upon it as a Matter of great Consequence; and that another had taken him up upon this Point, and shewn, from the best Authorities, that Drake, Cavendish and many others had encompassed the Globe long before him:---Would it have been deemed a just Reply if he had said, it is a Matter of no Importance, whether Anson was the first, second, third or fourth? Although this might be said perhaps truly, yet it could not be said properly, with Reference to a Debate where it was the only Point in Question.

THE Persons introduced as prior to Laud in asserting the divine Right of Episcopacy, were *Whitgift* (under the Patronage of Archbishop Parker and Bishop Cooper,) Bancroft, Hutton, Bilson, Hooker and Saravia. This List might have been easily enlarged, but it was thought sufficient; and it was clearly proved, that they all contended for the divine Right of Episcopacy. Dr. Chauncy says in Reply: *They were, it is true, Episcopalians on the Foot of divine Right, in a QUALIFIED, MITIGATED Sense; but not in the Sense in which Laud and the Doctor plead for this Right.* p. 49. This Gentleman has the best Knack I have ever met with, of shifting for himself, and repairing his Losses. After having been obliged to give up the Point in Dispute here, and to allow that the above-mentioned Persons were *Episcopalians on the Foot of a divine Right*, contrary to what he had strenuously insisted upon as a Matter of Importance; he  
gets



gets a Reinforcement from *Stephen Lob*, or some other Author of an anonymous Pamphlet, and returns with his Distinctions, and explains away his Concession---by saying that the divine Right for which those Episcopalians contended, was not a divine Right properly, but a divine Right in a *qualified, mitigated* Sense. How many *Sorts* of divine Right there are in his Opinion, and what *Degree* of Mitigation he intended, he ought to have told us ; for it is in vain to dispute with him, without understanding his Distinctions.

He attempts not to shew that the Principles of Hutton, Bilson and Saravia were misrepresented ; but what was said to prove that Whitgift, Bancroft and Hooker believed and maintained the divine Right of Episcopacy, he confronts with Evidence brought in by Stephen Lob, tending to prove, in his Opinion, that they were Episcopalians, not of the first Rate like Laud, but in a *qualified, mitigated* Sense. The first of these Writers is quoted, p. 50, as distinguishing between Things that are *so necessary that without them we cannot be saved*, and such as are *so necessary that without them we cannot so well and conveniently be saved* ; and then saying that it is only by this second Kind of Necessity, that Government, or any particular Form of it, is necessary for the Church. But this, which is given as the Opinion of Whitgift, by no Means implies, that he thought Episcopacy not to be of apostolical Institution---much less, that he thought Men might depart from it without evident Necessity---and least of all, that they were at Liberty to set up a Form of ecclesiastical Government in *Opposition* to it. Nor does it contradict the Declaration he made to Beza in the following



following Words: " We make no Doubt but that  
 " the episcopal Degree, is an Institution aposto-  
 " lical and divine, and so always hath been held  
 " by a continual Course of Times from the Apo-  
 " stles to this very Age of ours." I know of no  
 Episcopalians that esteem any Form of ecclesiasti-  
 cal Government to be so absolutely necessary, that  
 without it *we cannot be saved*. Even Laud him-  
 self, who was an Episcopalian of the *first* Rate,  
 was not of this Opinion. He treated the foreign  
 Protestant Churches, that were without episcopal  
 Government as Members of the same Body with  
 the Church of England, and maintained with them  
 a friendly Correspondence. " See his Letter in  
 " 1639, to the Swiss Divines in the *Præstantium*  
 " *Virorum Epistolæ*, Ep. 552, where they are cal-  
 " led by him *Confratres mei charissimi*: And of  
 " their Letter to him he saith, *it was agreeable to*  
 " *him on a double Account, as it was theirs, and ex-*  
 " *horting to Christian Peace. Such Men ought they*  
 " *to be who are Members of the same Body, and*  
 " *who believe and profess the Communion of Saints.*  
 " And in 1629, he writes to Vossius with great  
 " Mildness and Concern for the whole reformed  
 " Church, and for Peace among Divines, in Ep.  
 " 471. And he saith to him in 1633, *It is a mere*  
 " *Invention that the English Bishops desired to ex-*  
 " *tend their Jurisdiction over the foreign protestant*  
 " *Churches: A Thing which they never so much as*  
 " *dreamed of\**."

WHAT has been observed hitherto, is on the  
 Supposition that Whitgift spoke in the Sense in  
 which the Doctor understands him. But upon a  
 closer

\* The Second Letter to the Author of the *Confessional*,  
 p. 183.



closer Examination I believe it will be found, that he had no particular Reference to Episcopacy, in the Passages quoted. When he used those Expressions, he was combating a known Maxim of many of the Puritans, viz. That every Thing relating to the Government or Discipline of the Church, or to public Worship, that is not clearly expressed in Scripture, is unlawful. This was one of the Pillars, on which their famous *Admonition to the Parliament* was erected, rotten as it was ¶. Neal, their Historian and Advocate, tells us, that “ Mr. Cartwright maintained that *the holy Scriptures were not only a Standard of Doctrine, but of Discipline and Government; and that the Church of Christ in all Ages was to be regulated by them.* He was therefore for consulting his *Bible only*, and for reducing all Things as near as possible to the apostolic Standard §.” In confuting this Principle, as it was applied by the Puritans, Whitgift might have said: “ There is no certain Kind of Government or Discipline, prescribed to the Church; but that the same may be altered as the Profit of the Churches requires.---I do deny, that the Scriptures do set down any one certain Kind of Government in the Church to be perpetual, for all Times, Persons and Places without Alteration:” I say, he might have used these and the like Expressions, speaking in the Sense of the Puritans, and yet have believed the Doctrine of Episcopacy in as high a Sense as Laud himself did.

To prove that Bancroft was not episcopal, on the Footing of a divine Right, except in a *qualified*,

¶ Strype's Life of Parker, p. 362.

§ History of the Puritans, Vol I. p. 231, Dub. Edit.



*fied, mitigated Sense, and that he allowed Ordination by Presbyters to be valid, the Doctor, in p. 51, mentions the Case of the three Scots Presbyters who were consecrated Bishops with his Consent, without any previous Ordinations by the Imposition of episcopal Hands. This Case he had mentioned in his former Pamphlet with the like View; and it was said, in Answer, that those Persons were immediately consecrated Bishops on this Principle, 'that the episcopal Character, as it included those of a Presbyter and a Deacon, might be conveyed by a single Consecration, as in the Case of Ambrose and Nectarius.'* He now replies, *as this is rested on no other Proof than the Doctor's own Affirmation, it ought to be considered as nothing.* Experience has taught me not to be surprised, in this Controversy, at the most unexpected and extraordinary Assertions; and therefore I can, with the utmost Calmness, assure the Reader, that what is here said to be *rested on no other Proof than my own Affirmation*, was rested altogether on other Evidence; and that Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 701, and Grey's *Answer to Peirce*, p. 143, were particularly quoted for this Account, as any one may see, upon turning to the *Appeal defended*, p. 46, 47. If Spotswood gives a different Account of this Affair, it only follows that it is a disputed Case; and it is a much fairer Method to judge of Bancroft's Principles by what he clearly says in his Writings, than from the doubtful Evidence of a disputed Fact. Every Man must be supposed best to know his own Principles; and his own Declaration must be the best Proof of what Doctrines he believes. Let the Reader then attend to Bancroft himself explaining his own Principles, relating to this Head, and placing them as the Foundation



dation of his capital Work. “ As God himself, says  
 “ he, appointed an *Inequality* amongst the Priests  
 “ of the Old Testament: As in Christ’s *Instituti-*  
 “ *on*, the *Apostles* were superior to the *Seventy*  
 “ *Disciples*: As the Apostles, when the Gospel  
 “ began to spread itself, *appointed* sundry *Timo-*  
 “ *thies* and *Tituses*, to govern the Churches in  
 “ divers Countries and Territories: As all the  
 “ ecclesiastical Histories do record the *Superiority*  
 “ of *Bishops*, and do set down the Catalogues of  
 “ many of them, and which of the Apostles and  
 “ apostolical Bishops, and in what Cities and  
 “ Countries, they succeeded: As all the ancient  
 “ general Councils, and all the antient and godly  
 “ learned Fathers have allowed of Bishops, and  
 “ of their Superiority over the rest of the Clergy:  
 “ As Bishops have been accounted generally  
 “ throughout the World, to be the Apostles Suc-  
 “ cessors, and have continued in the Church ever  
 “ since the Apostles Time: As there was never  
 “ any one of all the ancient Fathers, nor any learn-  
 “ ed Men for 1500 Years, but *Aerius* the Here-  
 “ tic, that ever held that there ought to be no  
 “ Difference betwixt a Bishop and a Priest, &c.\*”---  
 THEREFORE, we may fairly conclude, Bancroft,  
 who believed all this, was an *Episcopalian on the*  
*Foot of a divine Right*, without any *Qualification*  
*or Mitigation*.

I WILL not detain the Reader with a particular  
 Defence of Hooker, as being episcopal in the  
 Sense of the *Appeal*. ‘ His immortal Work the  
 ‘ *Ecclesiastical Polity*’ is in many Hands, and his  
 Principles are well known. As to the Passages  
 quoted

\* *Survey of the pretended holy Discipline*, p. 143, apud  
 Maddox.



quoted to prove the contrary, they were in Answer to the above-mentioned *Maxim* of the Puritans, as is evident from the whole *third Book*: and therefore what has been said in the Case of Whitgift, is equally applicable to Hooker. In other Places, where he has no immediate Reference to that Controversy, he clearly and strongly expresses his Belief of the divine Institution and Obligation of episcopal Government. “A Bishop, says he, is a Minister of God, unto whom with *permanent Continuance*, there is given not only Power of administering the Word and Sacraments, which Power other Presbyters have; but also a *farther* Power to *ordain* ecclesiastical Persons, and a Power of *Chiefty in Government* over Presbyters as well as Laymen, a Power to be by Way of Jurisdiction, *a Pastor even to Pastors themselves*†.” Again “That so (*i. e.* as the Ordinance of God)” the ancient Fathers did think of episcopal Regiment; that they held this Order as a Thing *received from the blessed Apostles themselves*, and *authorised even from Heaven*, we may perhaps more easily prove, than obtain that they all shall grant it when they see it proved‡.” And he concludes the Section with these memorable Words: “Wherefore let us not fear to be herein *bold* and *peremptory*, that if any Thing in the Church’s Government, surely the *first Institution* of Bishops was from Heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the Author of it.”

THE Doctor had also argued that *Reordination* was not practised in the Church of England before  
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† *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Lib. vii. Sect. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* Sect. 5.



*the Time of Archbishop Laud.* This occasioned the Case to be fully considered and fairly stated, as may be seen in the *Appeal defended.* p. 42. Among other Things I said, that it was an established Law from the very Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, that none should be admitted as lawful Ministers in the Church of England without episcopal Ordination; using the very Words of the Preface to the Ordinal, and meaning the *Act of Uniformity* which established the Book of Common-Prayer and all that it contained. The Doctor replies, p. 55, *this is said in direct Contradiction* to the Act of 13 *Elizabeth*; from which he gives an imperfect and unfair Extract, that it may furnish him with a Pretence of saying something in Opposition to me. That one Act of that Reign was contradictory to another, without a Design of repealing it, ought not to be supposed without good Evidence; and it is not denied, that the Establishment I referred to was made. But it might much more plausibly have been objected, after the Example of Bishop Bonner, that the Act of Uniformity, although it in general established the Book of Common-Prayer, yet took no particular Notice of the Ordinal, which many of our Acts of Parliament distinguish as a different Book. However, could it be proved that the Preface to, or other Parts of, the Ordinal received no legal Force from the Act of Uniformity; yet it had the Support of *Art. xxxvi.* in 1562; and there was an Act in the 8th of *Elizabeth*, that particularly enjoined, “ that such Order and Form for  
“ the Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops,  
“ and for the making of Priests, Deacons and Mi-  
“ nisters, as was set forth in the Time of the late  
“ King *Edward* the Sixth, and authorised by Par-  
“ liament in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the said  
“ late



“ late King, shall stand, and be in full Force and  
 “ Effect, and shall from henceforth, be used and  
 “ observed in all Places within the Realm, and  
 “ other the Queen’s Majesty’s Dominions and  
 “ Countries”\*.

THAT the Reader may judge, whether what is here ordered was repealed, or contradicted, or contravened by the Doctor’s Act of 13 *Elizabeth*, I will give an Extract of so much of that Act as relates to the Subject before us, supplying the material Omissions in his Quotation of the same Passage, which, that they may be distinguished, are printed in *Italics*. “ Be it enacted---that every Person under the Degree of a Bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a Priest, or Minister of God’s holy Word and Sacraments, by Reason of any other Form of Institution, Consecration or ordering, than the Form set forth by Parliament in the Time of the late King---or now used in the Reign of our most gracious sovereign Lady, *before the Feast of the Nativity of Christ next following*, shall in the Presence of the Bishop---declare his Assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion---and shall bring from such Bishop---in writing, under his Seal authentic a Testimonial of such Assent and Subscription---upon Pain that every such Person *which shall not before the said Feast do as is appointed*, shall be (ipso Facto) deprived†.” The Doctor says that this Act, meaning this particular Clause of it, *continued in Force till Charles II* ; whereas it is evident, beyond Contradiction, from the Words he endeavoured to conceal, that it was to

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have

\* Gibsons’s *Codex*, p. 310.

† See *Codex*, p. 326, and Sparrows Collection, p. 118.



have no Force, and could have none, after “ the  
 “ Feast of the Nativity of Christ next following”  
 the Time of its passing. He also says *it is a full  
 Proof that it was not her (Queen Elizabeth's) Opi-  
 nion that Ordination was, by divine Appointment,  
 appropriated to Bishops in Distinction from Presbyters,  
 so that Ordination by Presbyters only was invalid:*  
 Whereas there is no Appearance of its having any  
 Relation to the Validity, or Invalidity, of Ordina-  
 tion by Presbyters. The Design of it was chiefly  
 to provide for such Clergymen, as had received  
 episcopal Ordination according to the popish Or-  
 dinal, in the Reign of Queen Mary; with a farther  
 View to such as might have received, what was  
 esteemed a valid, Ordination abroad. But what  
 was esteemed a valid Ordination, is neither said  
 nor implied. The Act does not provide that *all*,  
 who had received any Kind of Ordination, other-  
 wise than by the established Ordinal, should be made  
 capable of holding Preferment; but that none,  
 ordained otherwise, without qualifying themselves  
 in the Manner prescribed, should be admitted as  
 such. “ Whether those ordained by foreign Pro-  
 “ testants, where Necessity, not Choice, made it  
 “ impossible to have episcopal Ordination, were  
 “ (qualified to hold Benefices) this Act doth not  
 “ say. And supposing the first Paragraph be un-  
 “ derstood to indulge such till the Christmas fol-  
 “ lowing, upon subscribing, and after that Period  
 “ to refuse them: On this supposition, the Rejection  
 “ being perpetual, and the Indulgence only for  
 “ a short Term, the Act is rather against the  
 “ foreign protestant Ordination, as not valid in  
 “ this Church†:” And consequently, however  
 Whittingham might have availed himself of the  
 Indulgence,

† Second Letter to the Author of the *Confessional*, p. 182.



Indulgence, Travers, who was too late, could receive no Benefit from the Act.

THE Subject of the King's Supremacy was the next in Course ; but as the Doctor chooses to consider it in another Place, I shall not object, as I am not disposed to contend with him for Trifles. He gives here, p. 57, an Extract from Burn's *Eccllesiastical Law*, under the Title *Supremacy*, which, without being first garbled according to his usual Manner, he knew could not answer his Purpose ; of which I shall take no farther Notice.

‘ SHOULD it now be asked, what is all this to the  
 ‘ Business of an American Episcopate ? My Answer  
 ‘ is, I know not, but perhaps Dr. Chauncy does.’  
 This Observation was made in the *Appeal defended*, after I had rambled from the main Point 50 or 60 Pages in Pursuit of my Opponent, who ought, if any one, to have been able to assign sufficient Reasons for it, as he alone was the Cause of the Deviation. It was my Business, as Matters were circumstanced, to attend upon him through all his Aberrations ; and Duty required me, as well as I could, to defend the Church of England against all his Attacks, which I had very undesignedly occasioned. The same Observation I have too much Reason to repeat, at this Time. I have been long pressing forward, but have not yet been able to come to the main Point in Dispute. This I again lay to his Charge ; as by the Introduction of *Ferdinand Shaw*, and *Stephen Lob*, and his *old Reprint*, and his *new Distinctions*, he has brought not only upon me, but also upon the Reader, much needless Trouble.

WHAT



WHAT was intended as Proof of the Necessity of an uninterrupted Succession of Officers in the Church, the Reader may see in the *Appeal defended*, p. 59. The Doctor allows what was said on the Subject to be even *self-evident*, p. 58; but then he contends that it is no Proof of the Point, because it was raised upon a bad Foundation. For I had taken for granted, that Authority, if conveyed MEDI-ATELY, must be conveyed by PERSONAL SUCCESSION, which ought, it seems, first to have been proved. He says farther; *I can assure him---it is the Opinion of the non-episcopalian Colonists, that the Power of perpetuating the Ministration of the Word and Gospel Ordinances, is so lodged with the Christian Churches, that, whenever the Case requires it, they can begin a Succession de novo, which Succession will be as truly vested with Authority from Christ, as if it had been uninterruptedly handed down from the Apostles*: And he pretends that Hooker was of the same Opinion. I shall not spend Time in inquiring whether the Sense of the *non-episcopalian Colonists* is truly represented in these Words, or not. I could easily prove, that several of their most sensible Writers have thought otherwise; but it is enough for the present Purpose, that what is here expressed is the *Doctor's* Opinion, on which Account only an Examination of it in this Place is necessary.

HE readily allows that 'none have Authority in the Christian Church, but those who derive it from Christ, either mediately, or immediately.' An *immediate* Conveyance of ecclesiastical Authority from Christ, we have at present no Concern with. We are only to inquire, in what Manner that Power, which Christ formerly bestowed for the Edification of his Church, can now be obtained, for those Purposes.



Purposes for which it was then granted. Now, I think it will not be disputed, that *wherever* that Power was lodged, from *thence* it must be received, if it be received at all. The most material Question then is, to whom was this Power originally committed by Christ? It will be said by some, that it was given to the Church. In one Sense this is true; as whatever is given to any Members of a Society, for the general Benefit of that Society, may be said to be given to the Society. But if we examine the original Grant of ecclesiastical Power, it will appear, that it was not made to the Church diffusively, but to certain Persons, under whose Care and Government the Church was immediately placed. Those Persons, who undoubtedly understood what Authority they received, proceeded forthwith to exercise it, in Discharge of the great Trust reposed in them. Now the whole Conduct of the Apostles necessarily supposes and implies, that the Government of the Church here on earth was left *intirely* in their Hands. The Acknowledgement and Submission of all Christians also prove the same Point. As, on the one Hand, the Apostles made Laws for the Government of the Church; so we find, on the other, that those Laws were universally obeyed. All disputed Matters were referred to their Decision, from which there was no Appeal. In short, they exercised, in the Name of Christ, an uncontrollable Authority in the Church; and, as Occasions required, they appointed particular Persons to act as subordinate Ministers.

LET the Case be carefully and closely examined, and, I think, there can be no Difficulty in determining, whether, in the first Instance, the Authority of Christ was lodged in the Hands of the  
Apostles



Apostles only and exclusively, so that none could act as Officers or Ministers without their Consent and Appointment : Or, whether it was lodged in the Church diffusively, in such a Manner, that the Members of it, met together in a popular Assembly, might reject or displace an Apostle, and put another in his Stead, by Virtue of the Commission given by Christ. If the whole Power at *this* Time is allowed to have been in the Hands of the Apostles, it will go very far towards deciding the Matter in Dispute. For *when* was this original Constitution altered, and *who* had a Right to alter it ? Who could reduce that, which Christ had formed into a regular Society, with proper Officers to govern it, from an organised Body into a confused Mass ? To say that the Apostles could make this Alteration, is to ascribe to them a very extraordinary Power, without any Shadow of Evidence that they ever had it---a Power, which implies that they were better Judges of what was a proper Constitution for such a Society as the Christian Church, than the divine Founder himself. But supposing them to have had such a Power, *when*, and *on what Occasion*, did they exert it ? Where is the Proof, where are the Records, of this remarkable Event ? But, on the other Hand, if the very Nature of Things, and every Monument remaining testify against it, as they certainly do ; we may be assured, that the Constitution of the Church was the same when the Apostles left it, as when they were at first intrusted with the Care of it. And if it was not changed by them, and they had no Power to change it, any more than Aaron could change the primitive Constitution of the Jewish Church ; whether others, since their Time, can have had such a Power, may safely be left for common



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 81

common Sense to decide. To this may be added, that if the original Constitution of the Church has been altered, it is so far another Society, and not the same that was founded by Christ.

WHERE a Society is constituted under a particular Form of Government, and designed for Continuance, it is essential to it, that the Officers have a Power of perpetuating themselves, by appointing Successors, if they are not particularly appointed by the Founder of the Society. This was evidently the Case of the Christian Church, if we may judge from the Practice of the Apostles. Where they were present, none received ecclesiastical Authority, but immediately from them. In distant Places, none received, or could receive, such Authority, but from those Persons whom they had duly authorized to impart it. Upon this Maxim Timothy was sent to Ephesus by St. Paul, and Titus was left in Crete, to ordain Elders in every City.

THE Christian Church was thus originally constituted under Officers of divine Appointment, as evidently as the Jewish Church was; and Christians, in the Time of the Apostles, had no more Right to set up an Authority different from theirs, or in Opposition to it, than the Israelites had, in the Rebellion of Korah, to gainsay Moses and Aaron in these very *popular* Words: “Ye take too much  
“ upon you, seeing *all the Congregation are holy*,  
“ every one of them, and *the Lord is among them*;  
“ wherefore then lift you up yourselves above the  
“ Congregation of the Lord?\*” Let it now be observed, that what were the Rights of Christians

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\* Numb. XVI. 3.



in the Apostles Days, the very same, neither more nor less, are the Rights of Christians at this Day. If therefore the Church at Ephesus, for Instance, could not ordain Elders, without, or in Opposition to, the Authority given to Timothy; neither can the Church now, in any Country, ordain Ministers, without, or in Opposition to, the Authority of those, who are in the same Station that Timothy was\*.

FROM what has been said it appears, that in the Apostles Time, and consequently at this Day, the Authority

\* The *non-episcopalian Colonists*, it seems, claim, in Neglect or rather in Defiance of the Authority above-mentioned, a Power to ordain, and to begin a Succession *de novo*. This Claim, I suppose, is founded in the Privileges given *in common* to all Christians, and not in the Privileges given to some Christians in Preference to others. But the common Privileges of Christians are equal in all, in male and female, bond and free; for the Gospel knows nothing of these Distinctions. Now whatever power is exercised by a Body of Persons who are equal in Authority, must be exercised by the Direction of the Majority, to which the minor Part must submit. Supposing then an Assembly of Christians to be called together for the Business of beginning a Succession *de novo*: As no Christians can be excluded, the Voices and Rights of all being equal, it may happen that the Women amount to a Majority, and agree in an Opinion different from that of the Men. I would ask the Doctor, whether the Act of the Women, thus circumstanced, can produce the Ordination intended? If he says *no*, he must renounce his Principle, and that of the *non-episcopalian Colonists*. But indeed I have long observed, that this Doctrine of ecclesiastical Authority lodged in the People, is only used for Convenience on particular Occasions, and that it is seldom or never made the Rule of Practice. Accordingly, in Church-Meetings for the Purpose of Discipline, &c. among the *non-episcopalian Colonists*, the Women are not consulted; they appear not by Proxy; although they are generally as good Christians as the Men, and have an equal Right to direct in these Matters; but the Men *usurp* all that Right to themselves, in which, by their own Principles, they have but an equal Share.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 83

Authority to govern and order the Church, which was lodged in the Hands of particular Persons, and not in the Body diffusive, could be derived in the first Instance, in no other Way than by *personal* Communication; and in after Instances, could, and can be derived from the Apostles in no other Way than by *personal Succession*, in a Line that has never been interrupted. By *personal Succession* is here meant a Succession of particular Persons in the Government of the Church, to whom the Power of Ordination has been regularly conveyed, by those that have regularly received it, in this Manner, from the Apostles themselves; and by its being *uninterrupted* is meant, that throughout the Succession, ecclesiastical Authority has been handed down by those who were duly authorised to convey it.

THE Point which was *taken for granted* before, is now, I trust, sufficiently proved. If the Reader is of the same Opinion, let him take Notice, that Doctor Chauncy allows, p. 58, that it is *the only Thing that needed Proof*, and that, upon this Principle, the Necessity of an *uninterrupted Succession* is *self-evident*. I have therefore no Need to enlarge farther on the Subject. I can freely trust what has been now said, in Conjunction with what was formerly offered, to the Judgment of every Reader that is not grossly partial.

THE Doctor has a Number of other Observations relating to the Subject of an uninterrupted Succession, and many other Objections against what was said in Favour of it, but they appear to me to be but of little Consequence. His Quotation from Hooker, is introduced in such a Man-



ner as to pervert his Meaning : His Quotation from M. Claude, is unworthy of his Character : And his Quotation from Dodwell, is contrary to the known Principles of that Author. With the like Liberties, a Man may undertake to prove any Thing from any Writer.---As to what may be done in Cases of Necessity, it will be Time enough to consider it, when the Necessity happens. We know that Necessity never could be pleaded by the Dissenters at home, and their *non-episcopalian* Brethren in the Colonies are *anti-episcopal*\*. At the same Time they care as little, the Doctor tells us, p. 62, about an *uninterrupted Succession of Presbyters*, as of Bishops. For they not only believe and are confident, but *they know they have Power from Christ to constitute Officers for all the Purposes of the Gospel Ministry*, whenever there shall be Occasion for it.---As to our Saviour's Promise to his Apostles to be with them to the End of the World, it implies that he intended that they, and their Successors in the same Office, should continue to the End of the World. This Promise therefore is a sufficient Security, that the Succession in Question has not been, and shall not be, interrupted. Besides, 'it is incumbent on the Objectors to 'prove,' that the Interruption has happened ; for until this be proved, the Presumption will be that it never has. Indeed it appears from the very Nature of Things morally impossible that it ever should have happened. For it has been the Doctrine of the Church in all Ages, that no Ordination

\* The Author of a *critical Commentary* on A. Bp. SECKER's *Letter to Mr. WALPOLE*, speaking of the Dissenters at home, at whose Head he affects to figure, says : " It was their Concern for, and their Desire to preserve to the Americans of their own ANTI-EPISCOPAL *Persuasion*, the full Exercise," &c. p. 82.



tion was effectual, but what was performed by Bishops. This has been a perpetual Guard to the Succession contended for, because no Ordination would be accepted of, but such as was thought to be valid.---These *Hints* are offered as a sufficient Answer to all that is said in the Doctor's *Reply*, from p. 59 to p. 65.

IN his former Pamphlet he had endeavoured, in the Words of the *Dissenting Gentleman*, to prove the Church of England to be inconsistent and absurd, in maintaining the Validity of Orders derived through the Church of Rome, while she is called in the *Homilies*, "an old withered Harlot," &c. To this I thought it sufficient to oppose that Part of Mr. White's Reply to that *Gentleman*, where he says: "If I must derive my spiritual Pedigree from a Harlot, I had rather it should be *an old withered one*, of an antient and honourable Line, than a *young Strumpet* of no Name and Family, and who came into the World but yesterday." This, I confess, is rather ludicrously said; however, a more serious Answer was scarcely deserved. The Doctor replies, that in both Cases we must be *born of Fornication*. *Is it possible*, says he, *a Whore, a foul, filthy Whore, should, being an Adulteress, bring forth any other than a base-born, spurious Race?* A real Whore, while she continues such, cannot; but perhaps a *metaphorical Whore* may. The Church of Rome is called a *Harlot* in the *Homilies*, in Conformity to the Language of Scripture. The Jews were said to "play the *Harlot*," and to "go a *whoring* after their own Inventions," when they corrupted their Religion with a Mixture of idolatrous Rites and Practices. In the New Testament we  
read



read of “ the great *Whore* which did corrupt the  
 “ Earth with her *Fornication* ;” by which “ great  
 “ Whore” is intended, in the Opinion of most  
 Commentators, either Rome Heathen, or Rome-  
 Christian. In speaking therefore of the Church  
 of Rome, and her superstitious and idolatrous  
 Corruption of Christianity, at a Time when the  
 Nation was still smarting under the Wounds re-  
 ceived from her galling Yoke, it was very natural  
 for the Composers of the Homilies, and not im-  
 proper, to call her a *Harlot* ; in the Sense wherein  
 the Jewish Church was so called by the Prophets.  
 But they never intended to signify that her Mini-  
 strations were invalid ; for they knew, that, at  
 the Time of her Whoredoms, the Sacrifices and  
 other Ministrations in the Jewish Church, when duly  
 performed, were effectual to those Ends for which  
 they were appointed. They were far from adopt-  
 ing the Opinion of the ancient *Donatists* in these  
 Matters ; and what they believed of Churches and  
 Bishops, of corrupt Principles and Practices, we may  
 judge from what they believed of *Priests* in such a  
 Case. Those that composed the Homilies, were  
 soon after employed in framing what are called  
 King *Edward's* ARTICLES ; in one of which they  
 say : “ Although in the visible Church the evil be  
 “ ever mingled with the good, and sometime the  
 “ evil have chief Authority in the Ministration of  
 “ the Word and Sacraments : Yet for as much as  
 “ they do not the same in their own Name, but  
 “ do minister by *Christ's Commission and Authority*,  
 “ we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the  
 “ Word of God, and in the receiving the Sacra-  
 “ ments. Neither is the Effect of God's Ordi-  
 “ nances taken away by their Wickedness, nor the  
 “ Grace of God's Gifts diminished from such, as  
 “ by



“ by Faith rightly receive the Sacraments minister-  
 “ ed unto them, *which be effectual, because of*  
 “ *Christ's Institution and Promise, although they be*  
 “ *ministered by evil Men.*” It need not be added,  
 that this is equally applicable to Ordination by a  
 popish Bishop.

WERE it worth the Reader's Attention, I could  
 shew that the Doctor is much mistaken in his  
 Opinion of the Sentiments of Archbishop Usher  
 and Bishop Burnet concerning Episcopacy, and  
 that he judges from partial and imperfect Evi-  
 dence. Enough, I believe, was said of Usher,  
 for the impartial Reader's Satisfaction in the *Appeal*  
*defended*; but as the Doctor seems to require far-  
 ther Satisfaction, I must refer him to a Book  
 written in Answer to Dr. Bernard's, intitled, *Res-*  
*pondet Petrus*, by Dr. Heylin. As to Burnet, it  
 is sufficient that he affirms in his Exposition, “ that  
 “ Christ appointed a Succession of Pastors, in  
 “ different Ranks, to be continued in the Church  
 “ for the Work of the Gospel, and the Care of  
 “ Souls; and that as the Apostles settled the  
 “ Churches, *they appointed different ORDERS, of*  
 “ *Bishops, Priests and Deacons†:*” And, in his  
*History of the Reformation*, in a Passage that has  
 been held out to public View‡---that to deny Bi-  
 shops and Priests “ to be two DISTINCT ORDERS,”  
 is not only heretical and popish, but some of the  
 worst Part, “ THE VERY DREGS OF POPERY.” But,  
 that after the Time of writing his *Vindication of*  
*the Church of Scotland*, which I have not seen, he  
 was truly *episcopal* in his Principles, in the full  
 Heighth and Depth of the Expression, I may ap-  
 peal,

† On Art. xxv.

‡ In the *Appeal defended*, p. 25.



peal, not only to particular Passages, but to the whole Tenor of his subsequent Writings.

It is an easy Thing, by the Help of single Sentences, with here and there Scraps of Sentences, artfully arranged and properly managed, to prove almost any Authors to be, what we choose they should be. In such a Way, I could easily prove Dr. Chauncy himself to be an Episcopalian, from the Pamphlet before me. I could collect Sentences, wherein he acknowledges the fundamental Principles of an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops to be *self-evident*. I could shew that he is an Advocate for the Sentiments of Whitgift, Bancroft, Hooker, Usher, Burnet, and a great Majority, *nineteen in twenty of the Members of the Church of England*, relating to the Subject, which are notoriously episcopal---that he is so convinced of the Usefulness and Necessity of an *American Episcopate*, that he is not only willing that it should be established, but blames the Clergy of the Church of England in the Colonies for not having exerted themselves more in Order to procure Bishops, and thinks they should have applied for them to the Moravians, or even to the Papists in Canada, rather than be without them. But such an Amusement I will not pursue, as it would interfere too much with Business, and be too great a Trespass upon the Reader's Indulgence. For these two Reasons I shall take no farther Notice of what he says concerning Usher and Burnet, but seek for more useful Employment in his next *Section*.

HERE my Opponent begins thus : *The Doctor has seen fit, for Reasons BEST KNOWN TO HIMSELF, to pass over almost every Thing this (second) Section relates*



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 89

*relates to, that was material, p. 57.* But the Reasons for my doing this are as well known to the Reader, as to my self. The Passage, in which he was informed of these Reasons, must have been immediately under the Doctor's Eye when he made the Remark, as it stands in the Front of the Section, to which he was preparing to reply. What was there said, is in these Words : ' The Objections  
' that have been made to the second Section of the  
' *Appeal*, wherein the Powers peculiar to the episco-  
' pal Office are shewn, as they relate chiefly to the  
' Evidence of Scripture, explained by the Practice  
' of the primitive Church, so far shall be passed  
' over, they coming not within the Intention of the  
' present Defence.' Why this was not within the Intention of my Defence, was carefully explained in p. 77, and the Reasons there assigned have appeared to be abundantly satisfactory to the Public. What can we now think of the Fairness and Candor of such a Remark ?

In discoursing of the Nature of the episcopal Office, it was thought proper to distinguish, between those Things that belong to it originally and essentially, and such external Appendages as had been added in after Times, and which have no necessary Connection with the Office itself. The Doctor, in his *Answer*, attempted not to invalidate the Distinction, but impertinently remarked, that it is *highly UNREASONABLE to add such Appendages*. In my *Defence* it was replied : ' Whether the Addition of such Appendages be reasonable or unreasonable, is nothing to me ; and, which is more, it is nothing to the Case of such an Episcopate as is proposed for America. I had said nothing, nor was it my Business to say any Thing of its being  
N *reasonable*



‘reasonable that these Appendages should be added ;  
 ‘nor was it his Business as an Answerer to me, to say  
 ‘any Thing of its being *unreasonable*. Much less  
 ‘was it his Business to object Appendages of this  
 ‘Kind to an Episcopate, which it certainly is, and  
 ‘ever was intended, shall exist without them\*.’ He  
 now rejoins : *Why then, in the Name of Wonder,*  
*did he say any Thing about these Appendages ? If it*  
*was nothing to him, that is, to the Cause he is de-*  
*fending, and nothing to the Case of an American*  
*Episcopate, it is certainly to no Purpose to say a*  
*Word about them,* p. 72. Fair and candid again !  
 without any Mixture of Sophistry ! But however,  
 the *Subject* of such Appendages, and the *Reasona-*  
*bleness* of making them, are different Things. In  
 the *Appeal*, the Appendages were distinguished  
 from the Office itself, because it was necessary in  
 Order rightly to conceive of the episcopal Office,  
 as proposed to be exercised in America ; and in my  
*Defence* I did not say that the *Subject*, or the *Dis-*  
*tinction*, was nothing to me, but that the *Reasona-*  
*bleness* or *Unreasonableness* of adding such Appen-  
 dages to the episcopal Office, was neither my  
 Business, nor his, to consider. How then, *in the*  
*Name of Wonder*, could Dr. Chauncy shew so  
 little Regard to his own literary Character !

In explaining the Nature of the episcopal Office  
 it was observed, that the Office is exactly the same  
 in a large Diocess as in a small one, and that this  
 Circumstance affected not the Validity of any Act  
 performed by the Bishop. The Doctor answered,  
 that if the Validity of the Bishop’s Acts is not  
 affected by the Largeness of his Diocess, his Capa-  
 city to serve it undoubtedly is. It was said in Reply  
 to

\* *Appeal defended*, p. 85.



to him, the Answer amounts to this, 'that although  
 ' what I said is allowed to be true, yet something  
 ' that I did not say is certainly false. The Thing  
 ' which I did not say is, that the Bishop is *as able*  
 ' to serve the great Ends of his Office in a large  
 ' Diocese as in a small one.' Let us now hear the  
 Doctor's Rejoinder. *It is true, he did not say this;*  
*but it is as true, that it was with Propriety, and*  
 IRRESISTIBLE FORCE *that I said it,* p. 72. What-  
 ever Opinion my Opponent may have of the  
 IRRESISTIBILITY of his own Force, in this Instance  
 it was certainly misapplied. Nor could there be  
 any Propriety in an Answerer's thus shifting the  
 Question, from the Validity of an Act, to the  
 Capacity of the Agent.

It was farther said in Reply to him, that he was  
 also wrong in his Opinion relating to the Bishop's  
 Capacity of taking due Care of a large Diocese, as  
 he judged 'of the episcopal Charge upon Con-  
 ' gregational Principles, confounding the Office  
 ' of a Bishop with that of a Parish Minister.' He  
 still insists upon it, that it is *highly improper, and*  
*an intolerable Grievance, that Bishops should be at*  
*the Head of large Diocesses; because it destroys their*  
*Capacity to serve the Ends, designed by Christ in the*  
*Institution of their Office.* This confirms the Ob-  
 servation I made upon his wrong Method of pro-  
 ceeding. He believes the Design of the Institution  
 of Bishops was, that they should take the spiritual  
 Charge of single Congregations, and perform the  
 parochial Duties. Accordingly he looks upon  
 himself to be a proper Bishop, agreeably to the  
 Institution of Christ. In this Sense, it is confessed,  
 Bishops ought to be confined to narrow Districts,  
 as their Incapacity to serve large ones, such as



common Diocesses, cannot be disputed. But the Bishops in Question are an ORDER of Men very different from that of *Bishop Chauncy*, and the Ends of their Office are as different as their Order. Parochial Duties they may occasionally perform; but the proper Business of their Office is, Ordination, the Superintendency and Government of the Clergy, and Confirmation. Now if a Diocess is not so large but that a Bishop can duly perform all these Offices, it cannot be justly objected that he has not a *Capacity* to serve it. In an episcopal Church the Number of Parish Ministers is as great as it would be, if the episcopal Order had no Existence; and the Addition of Bishops to superintend the parochial Clergy and oblige them to perform their Duty, is so far from being *an intolerable Grievance*, that such an Institution, in its Nature and Design, is an invaluable Advantage. Here the Doctor quotes and misapplies our blessed Saviour's Declaration, "my Kingdom is not of this World;" which has no more Relation to the Subject under Consideration, than these Words of Moses, "In the Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth."

I SHALL not spend much Time in controverting what he says about *Aerius* and *Colluthus*. These I had represented to have been 'the first Contrivers of Ordination by Presbyters;' but herein I may have been mistaken, as I find the learned Dr. Lee points out an Instance of the like Nature, among the *Montanists*, in the latter End of the second Century, of one *Blastus*, a Greek Presbyter, who formed, says he, "the first Presbyterian Church we read of;" for which he was duly reprimanded



primanded by St. Irenæus §. That Acrius was condemned as an Heretic, ‘ chiefly for his Opinion ‘ of the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters,’ is agreeable to the Account given by all the most considerable ecclesiastical Historians, and the Opinion of all the most considerable Writers, that have mentioned the Case. That Jerom, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostom and Theophylact *were of the same Opinion with Acrius,* with Regard to the Parity of Bishops and Presbyters, as the Doctor pretends was the Belief of *Reignolds, Jewel, Bridges, Whitacre, and Stillingfleet,* whom he calls *episcopal Writers of the first Figure,* but some of whom were notorious Puritans; is, as he says in another Case, *in direct Opposition to as known a Truth as is contained in History.*

To what was said concerning Colluthus, from the Bishops of Egypt, Thebais, Lybia and Pentapolis, and the Clergy of Mareotis, he opposes the evasive Distinctions of Blondel, given in the *Irenicum*, as a sufficient and *full Answer.* Blondel, it seems, thought fit to say, *the pronouncing such an Ordination* (as that of Ischyra by Colluthus) *null doth not evidence, that they looked on Ordination as belonging, of divine Right, only to Bishops.* For it might, says he, have been condemned as *contrary to the Canons,* as not performed *in the proper Diocess,* as being *without a Title, &c.* Whereas the Bishops above-mentioned, in their *synodical Epistle,* say expressly, in the Extract I had given, that the Ordination was null, *because* it was performed by a Presbyter. “ How came Ischyra, say they, to “ be a Presbyter, and by whom was he ordained? “ Was



“ Was it by Colluthus ? For that remains to be  
 “ said. But Colluthus died a Presbyter, so THAT  
 “ ALL *the Impositions of his Hands* were INVALID  
 “ and NULL :”---and the Clergy of Mareotis, in  
 their *joint Letter*, from which also I had given an  
 Extract, say : “ Ischyas who calls himself a Pres-  
 “ byter, is not a Presbyter, since he was ordained  
 “ by Colluthus, who *assumed an imaginary Epif-*  
 “ *copacy*, and was afterwards commanded by Ho-  
 “ sius, and other Bishops synodically assembled,  
 “ to return to the Order of Presbyters, whereto  
 “ he was ordained. And CONSEQUENTLY all those,  
 “ whom Colluthus ordained, returned to their  
 “ former Stations, and Ischyas himself became a  
 “ Layman.” Let the Reader now judge, whe-  
 ther, notwithstanding the Doctor’s *full Answer*  
 and Proof to the contrary, the Condemnation of  
 that Ordination was not founded on an Opinion  
 of its essential Nullity and Invalidity, because it  
 was performed by a Presbyter, or one who assumed  
 only an *imaginary* Episcopacy.

In speaking of Ordination as one of the pecu-  
 liar Branches of the episcopal Office, I took No-  
 tice there is not an Instance of Ordination by Pres-  
 byters to be found in the Church for several Ages  
 after Christ ; and that Acrius and Colluthus, in  
 the latter End of the *fourth* Century, were the  
 first that endeavoured to introduce that Kind of  
 Ordination. The Doctor, in his *Answer*, demand-  
 ed *one Instance, within the long Period of 150 Years*  
*from Christ, of an Ordination by any Bishop.* It  
 would have been a more compleat Answer to have  
 said, that there was not an Instance of episcopal Or-  
 dination to be found within the same Period that I  
 had



had mentioned, than to say there was no such Instance within the *long Period of 150 Years*; which *long Period* was *shorter* by more than Half. However, not insisting upon this most material Difference between my Period and his, I replied, that he had made the same Demand some Years before, in his *Dudleian Lecture*, to which a direct and formal Answer had been given by Mr. Leaming†, whereof he had not taken the least Notice. This appeared to me to be a ‘Curiosity,’ and indeed such as I had never met with ‘in the Regions of Controversy.’ I then gave Mr. Leaming’s Reply, which I esteemed to be a full Answer to the Demand. If the Doctor himself thought otherwise, still there was something *curious* in his taking no Notice of the Answer that had been *attempted* to this Challenge, when he came to repeat it.

He now says, p. 78, by Way of Excuse: *I did not esteem it worthy of the least Notice, OR (meaning, that he did not imagine) that any one else would, that had any considerable Degree of intellectual Discernment.* Yet in the next Words he tells us, that Mr. Welles thought it worthy of Notice, for that *he nullified this produced Instance, and all that was said upon it.* This, by the Way, looks like treating Mr. Welles very ungenerously, after the many kind Offices and Compliments he had received from him; as the Words fairly imply an Opinion that Mr. Welles had no *considerable Degree of intellectual Discernment*, at least in that particular Case. Again: He tells us he did not choose to take Notice of Mr. Leaming’s Answer, because, as he informed the Public, in his Letter prefixed to Mr. Welles’s

† In his *Defence of Episcopal Government*.



Welles's Piece, that *was he inclined to engage in the episcopal Controversy, he should choose for his Opponent, one that is better able to manage the Dispute, than he appears to be.* But the Dealers in public Controversy have not always the Liberty of choosing their Opponents. And as to Mr. Leaming, he is well known to be abundantly able to manage the Dispute about Episcopacy, against any that may oppose him. This same *prefixed Letter* contains illiberal Reflections, upon a Gentleman of a very amiable and respectable Character. And here, as we are on the Subject of 'Curiosities in the Regions of Controversy,' it may not be amiss to point out a very remarkable one, to be found in that short Letter to Mr. Welles. Says the Doctor: *I have NO OTHER KNOWLEDGE of this Gentleman (Mr. Leaming) than what may be collected from this small Work of his (his Defence, &c.)* Yet within the Distance of a single Page he also says: *by THE ACCOUNT I HAVE of Mr. Leaming, he is not equal to the Performance that comes out in his Name.* But to return from this Digression in Pursuit of Curiosities.

THE Doctor contends that Mr. Leaming's Answer was improper, because *the Example of episcopal Ordination wanted, and desired, was to be selected, not from the Scripture, but from one or another of the Fathers of the Two first Centuries.* But this does not appear from the Challenge, in which there is not a Word said of those *Fathers.* The *Dudleian Lecturer* had been saying, that he could find nothing in Favour of Episcopacy in the Scriptures, nor in the Fathers before Clemens of Alexandria, except a Sentence in Irenæus, which he endeavoured to explain away. Upon this, he called upon *Episcoparians*



*parians to favour him with only one Example of episcopal Ordination, in their Sense of it, within the Time above-described\*. The Demand therefore, by all the Rules of fair Construction, must have been, to produce the Example from those Writings wherein he was unable to find it himself; which were the Scriptures and primitive Fathers of the Church. If then Mr. Leaming was able to point out an Example in Scripture, he complied with the Demand, as directly as if he had produced it from any of those Fathers.*

THE Doctor argues that the Example given is not to be admitted by him, because such an Example would, on our Side, be rejected. For if, in Answer to a Declaration in the *Appeal* that no Instances of Presbyterian Ordination are to be found in the Church for several Ages, he had replied, in Words like those of Mr. Leaming; that he could produce many, but for brevity Sake he would mention but one Instance, viz. The Ordination of Timothy, by “the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery,” *producing only those Arguments that had been used a Hundred Times over, in Support of it*; he imagines he should be *laughed at by the Doctor, and that convened Body which first put him upon writing*. But a Man is seldom laughed at for producing Arguments, notwithstanding they may have been used frequently, provided they are produced and applied properly. Good Arguments will wear a long while, and not be the worse for it. But when a Man uses Arguments that have been *refuted a Hundred Times over, in Opposition to plain Facts, and the settled Belief of the Church for 1500 Years*; I will not answer for myself, nor am I authorised to

O

answer

\* *Dud. Lect. p. 70.*



answer for our Convention, that he will not be laughed at. If it could be made to appear, by any Kind of Arguments, that the Consecration of Timothy was an Example of presbyterian Ordination, I believe we should consider it as a very serious Matter, and allow that it would answer the Purpose of our Adversaries.

BUT whether the abovesaid Answer was proper or not, of which the Reader must judge for himself; the Doctor goes on to challenge *me*, with the Appearance of greater Intrepidity than ever, and more in the Style of a *Champion*, to produce *one single Instance of episcopal Ordination, in the appropriated Sense, from some or other of the Fathers within 150 Years from Christ*, p. 80: And he allows me to call in the Assistance of *any of the episcopal Clergy on the American Continent*; and promises to admit as genuine *any Instance* that may be brought from Ignatius's Epistles, although *certainly spurious or interpolated*. But he has no Right to expect that I will take Notice of this Defiance, daring and provoking as it is, until he makes some Answer to a Challenge I gave him||, to support a certain Charge he brought against the episcopal Clergy---or else to retract it. However, with him I will not insist upon the Strictness of *established Forms*, and therefore I now give him the following Answer.

1. If he himself will point out any Instance in those Fathers, wherein a particular Ordination is mentioned, I do, by *these Presents*, engage to prove, without the Assistance of any Clergyman on the Continent, that such Ordination was properly and strictly episcopal.

2. If

|| In the *Appeal defended*, p. 259.



2. IF no such Instances are to be found, the Cause of Episcopacy may be supported without them. The Doctor, I suppose, will not give up the Cause of Infant-Baptism, because he can produce no Instances of it, within 150 Years after Christ. The Fathers, within the Period prescribed, of whose Writings any Part is now extant, are but few, and there is not one of them whose Works are intire. The Works of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, are lost; the same Fate has attended the Writings of Hegesippus---a few Fragments of both, preserved by Eusebius, excepted. The literary Productions of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, which were numerous, and chiefly relating to ecclesiastical Subjects; of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth; of Quadratus, Aristides, and Agrippa surnamed Castor, besides many others that might be mentioned, have all perished. Were they now extant, especially the Works of Hegesippus, the particular Intelligence wanted, might reasonably be expected. For Eusebius and Jerom, who saw the Works of the last-mentioned Writer, inform us, that he composed a compleat Body of ecclesiastical History, in *Five* Books, wherein he related all the principal Occurrences that happened in the Church, after our Saviour's Passion to the Time of his Writing.

As to those Works, belonging to the Doctor's Period, which are extant, they might all be contained in a Pocket-Volume. Some short Epistles to particular Persons or Churches, exhorting to Perseverance and Patience---one catholic Epistle, partly written with the like View, but chiefly giving an allegorical Explanation of the ceremonial Law---one practical Discourse---a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, proving that Jesus is the true



Messiah---a few Apologies for the Christian Religion, in Answer to the Calumnies of its Adversaries-- two or three Discourses against the Gentiles, exposing their Errors and Idolatries---with a Fragment or two concerning the Resurrection---are all the Works of St. Barnabas, St. Hermas, Clemens Romanus, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian and Athenagoras, which have survived the Wreck of Time ; a great Part of their Writings having been irrecoverably lost. Now as nothing that remains is of an historical Nature, we could hardly expect that they would give us historical Accounts. Yet,

3. FROM these very Writings, and others of the second Century, we are abundantly able to prove, that there were three Orders of Officers in the Church at this Time, viz. Bishops, Priests and Deacons ; and that the Church was under the Government of Bishops, as an Order distinct from, and superior to, the other Two :---from whence it follows, that Ordinations were performed by Bishops.

It cannot be expected, in a Work of this Nature, that I should collect all the Passages in those Writings, which relate to the Subject ; however, a few of them by Way of Specimen, I beg Leave to present to the Reader. Clemens Romanus, who was a Fellow-Labourer with St. Paul, and one of those “ whose Names were written in “ the Book “ of Life \*,” in his celebrated *Epistle to the Corinthians*, speaking of the Christian Ministry, which he illustrates by the Jewish Priesthood, says : “ the chief Priest has his proper Services ; and to “ the

\* *Philip. iv. 3.*



“ the *Priests* their proper Place is appointed ; and  
 “ to the *Levites* belong their proper Ministries†.”  
 Here are evidently three Orders in the Christian  
 Church pointed out, corresponding with the like  
 Distinctions in the Jewish Church ; and to the high-  
 est Order belongs the Superintendency and Go-  
 vernment of the whole.

IGNATIUS, in his Epistle ‡ to the *Magnesians*,  
 says : “ Forasmuch as in the Persons before-men-  
 “ tioned (viz. Damas their Bishop, Bassus and Apol-  
 “ lonius, their Presbyters, and Sotio their Deacon)  
 “ I have seen all of you in Faith and Charity, I ex-  
 “ hort you that you study to do all Things with  
 “ divine Concord ; your *Bishop* presiding in the  
 “ Place of God ; your *Presbyters*, in the Place of  
 “ the

† Sect. xl.

‡ Dr. Chauncy very graciously allows us, *pro hac Vice*,  
 what we have long claimed and possessed as a Right, the Use  
 of Ignatius's Epistles, which he is pleased to say are *certainly*  
*spurious or interpolated* ; but which others say, who are incom-  
 parably better Judges than he, are undoubtedly *genuine*---  
 meaning those which are published as such by Usher and  
 Vossius. The following *Hints* are worthy of the Reader's At-  
 tention. The Epistles of Ignatius were mentioned by Poly-  
 carp, in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, soon after the Mar-  
 tyrdom of Ignatius ; and he informs them, that he had col-  
 lected and sent to them these very Epistles. They are men-  
 tioned by Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Jerom,  
 Gelasius and Theodoret, to say nothing of others : and quo-  
 ted in the very Words of the Copies now extant. No anci-  
 ent Writings, those of the Holy Scriptures excepted, are of-  
 tener quoted, or better attested to be genuine, than the E-  
 pistles in Question ; and the Arguments used against them,  
 would equally prove every other antient Writing spurious.  
 It deserves Notice, that none but those, whose new-fangled  
 Tenets are contradicted by the Epistles of Ignatius, ever at-  
 tempted to disprove their Authenticity ; and we all know,  
 that for the same Reason, even the Holy Scriptures have  
 sometimes met with the like Treatment.



“ the Council of the Apostles, and your *Deacons*,  
 “ being intrusted with the Ministry of Jesus Christ§.”  
 He also exhorts the *Trallians*, to do nothing without their Bishop ; to be subject to their Presbyters ; and to reverence their Deacons ; and says, “ he  
 “ that does any Thing without the Bishop, and  
 “ Presbyters, and Deacons, is not pure in his Con-  
 “ science||.” To the *Philadelphians* he says : “ I  
 “ cried whilst I was among you : I spake with a  
 “ loud Voice ; attend to the Bishop, and to the  
 “ Presbytery, and to the Deacons¶.” In his Epistle to the *Smyrnæans*, he salutes their “ very  
 “ worthy Bishop, and their venerable Presbytery,  
 “ and their Deacons,” whom he calls his Fellow-Labourers†. And in an Epistle to *Polycarp*, the Bishop of the *Smyrnæans*, he says : “ My Soul  
 “ be Security for them that submit to their Bishop,  
 “ with their Presbyters, and Deacons.” Such is the Testimony of this venerable Martyr, in Favour of the Superiority of Bishops to Presbyters ; and it is no Wonder, that the Enemies of Episcopacy use every Effort to weaken its Force.

THE Doctor acted very wisely in not extending his Period any farther downwards, than 150 Years after Christ ; for he knew that his Cause would too evidently suffer by an Examination of the Authors that immediately followed ; whose Testimony in Favour of Episcopacy no Arts could evade, and the Authenticity of whose Writings he was unable to dispute. I shall notwithstanding venture, with his Leave, or even without it, to step over the Line which he has marked out for me, for a few Moments, to point out some Passages in those Authors, that are directly to my Purpose ; but  
 still



still confining myself within the Limits of the second Century.

HEGESIPPUS, in a genuine Fragment of his Works preserved by Eusebius, says: “ when I  
 “ came to Rome, I composed a Succession (*i. e.* a  
 History of the Succession) of the Bishops of that  
 “ City to the Time of Anicetus (about the Year  
 153\*) “ whose Deacon Eleutherus was at that  
 “ Time. After the Death of Anicetus, Soter suc-  
 “ ceeded him, and Eleutherus succeeded Soter,  
 “ &c †.” The regular Succession of Bishops, in  
 the Time of Hegesippus, we see, was spoken of,  
 not as Novelty, but as a Thing commonly known;  
 and in composing his ecclesiastical History, he vi-  
 sited the most eminent Sees, and wrote his Ac-  
 count of their Bishops upon the Spot, where he  
 had the Advantage, not only of common Infor-  
 mation, but of consulting the Records of the  
 Church.

THE Three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Dea-  
 cons, are frequently mentioned by other Writers  
 of the second Century. Clemens of Alexandria,  
 who was instructed by those who had seen the  
 Apostles§, says: “ There are many other Precepts  
 “ concerning the elect (*i. e.* Christians) which are  
 “ written in the Scriptures; some relating to Pres-  
 “ byters, some to Bishops, and others again to  
 “ Deacons---of which I shall take another Oppor-  
 “ tunity to speak‡.” Again says he: “ In the  
 “ Church, the Orders of Bishops, Priests and  
 “ Deacons,

\* Vide Fabricii *Bibliog. antiq.* Cap. vii.

† Eusebii *Eccles. Hist.* Lib. iv. Cap. 22.

§ Stromata, Lib. I. p. 201, edit. per Heinsium.

‡ Pædagogus, Lib. iii, p. 194.



“ Deacons, are, I suppose, Imitations of the angelic  
 “ Glory ; and of that Œconomy which the Scrip-  
 “ tures say those expect, who, following the Steps  
 “ of the Apostles, have lived righteously, accor-  
 “ ding to the Gospel†.”

If we go on to Irenæus, we shall find him boldly declaring : “ We can reckon up those whom the  
 “ Apostles ordained Bishops in the several Churches,  
 “ and their Successors down to our own Times.  
 “ And if the Apostles had known any hidden Myste-  
 “ ries---they would have committed them to these  
 “ Men, to whom they committed the Churches  
 “ themselves. For they were very desirous that  
 “ those should be perfect and unblameable in all  
 “ Things, whom they left as their Successors, and  
 “ to whom they committed their own Authority ||.”  
 He then, as an Example, enumerates the Succession  
 of Bishops at Rome in the following Order :  
 Linus, (mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to  
 Timothy) Anacletus, Clemens, Euaristus, Alex-  
 ander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Ani-  
 cetus, Soter, and in the 12th Place Eleutherius,  
 who was the Bishop at that Time. And in another  
 Place, he speaks of a regular Succession of Bishops  
 from

† *Strom.* Lib. vi, p. 481. The famous Origen, who was the  
 Disciple of Clemens, and his Successor in the catechetical  
 School of Alexandria, makes the same Distinctions. Although  
 he lived in the second Century, yet as he wrote not until the  
 Beginning of the third, I will only take Notice of the follow-  
 ing Passage ; which the candid Reader will excuse, as it is  
 given in a Note. “ More, says he, is required from one in  
 “ my Station (of a Presbyter) than from a Deacon ; and  
 “ more from a Deacon, than from a Layman. But more  
 “ still is required from him, who has, in ecclesiastical Mat-  
 “ ters, the Sovereignty over all of us”---meaning the Bishop.  
*Apud Bev. Cod. Can. Lib. ii, Cap. xi. Sect. 3.*

|| *Adversus Hæreses, Lib. iii, Cap. 3, Edit. per Grabe.*



from the Apostles, as an essential Mark of the true Church\*.

THESE Passages, to which many other of the like Tendency, from Writers of the second Century, might have been easily added §, prove directly and immediately, as well as unanswerably, that throughout the second Century, Bishops were distinct from, and superior to, Presbyters, and had the chief Government of the Church; and, by necessary Consequence, that ORDINATION was their peculiar Office. For there never was in Fact, so far as we can discover by the Light of History, nor indeed in the Nature of Things can there be, an episcopal Church, wherein any other than episcopal Ordination was, or can be, allowed of. In every Society, the Appointment and the Commissions of the various Degrees of Officers, must proceed from those that govern it. This is so evident, that there never was, I believe, an Advocate for the Presbyterian Parity, but would readily grant, that whensoever and wheresoever the Government of the Church was episcopal, the Ordinations were also episcopal. Therefore the above-recited Passages, although they do not inform us of any single Ordinations that were performed by Bishops, yet do more; they give sufficient Evidence, that all Ordinations were thus performed.

WE come now to the Case of the *Waldenses*. It was said in the *Appeal*, that until the Beginning of the Reformation, no Instances worthy of Notice occur,

P to

\* Lib. iv. Cap. 43. See the learned Dr. Grabe's Notes, in p. 343.

§ Most of these have been collected by Bishop Pearson, in his *Vindiciæ*.



to favour Ordination by Presbyters. The Doctor alledged the Example of the Waldenses to the contrary. I replied, that it appeared from Comenius, that the Waldenses pretended always to be episcopal, and that the Bohemians applied to them *as such*, for Ordination; which they would not have done, had there been Reason so much as to *suspect*, that they had not the Authority that was wanted. And, besides the Account given from a very respectable Writer in Answer to Mr. Owen, I quoted Dr. Mosheim and Dr. Allix, the latter of whom probably understood the Waldensian History better than any Writer of his Time, to prove that they were episcopal.

THE Doctor now, in p. 81, endeavours to support his former Assertion, by the Assistance of Two more Authors. The first is Paul Perrin, whose Book I have not seen; nor does he say, or intimate, that he has seen it himself. But if he has seen it, why may he not mistake that Author even where he speaks plainly, as he does Bishop Burnet? Let the Reader also judge how far his Testimony should be admitted in such a Case, after he has represented that, in the Church of England, Presbyters have as much Authority to ordain, as Bishops. But Allix and Mosheim *had* seen Perrin's Book, and they both believed notwithstanding, that the Waldenses were episcopal: From whence I infer, that Paul Perrin proves not the *contrary*.

His other Author is *that famous Episcopalian*, (he should have said, *Leader of the Puritans*) Dr. Reignolds, [Reynolds] *who more than equaled in Learning* (because he was a Puritan) *either Mosheim or Dr. Allix*; and he *peremptorily affirms in his Letter*



Letter to Sir F. Knolls (Knollys) that the Waldenses were of the same Opinion with Aerius (the Heretic) as to the Identity of the Order of Bishops and Presbyters. This is pompous indeed, and calculated to lead the Reader to believe, that this Letter contains such a clear and particular Account of the Matter, as would convince the most stubborn. But the very Letter, unless I am greatly mistaken, as much as the Doctor has seen of it, is in Neal's *History of the Puritans*; and to gratify the Reader's Curiosity, I will present him with as much of it as has any Relation to the Subject. "All that have laboured in reforming the Church for 1500 Years, says the Letter-Writer, have taught, that all Pastors, be they intitled Bishops or Priests, have equal Authority and Power by God's Word; as first the *Waldenses*, next Marfilus Pativinus, &c†." The Reader here sees the whole of the Evidence afforded by Reynolds; and feeble as it is, the Doctor is forced to place upon it a great Part of his Confidence. He produces nothing but a Reference to this Extract, and his Account of Paul Perrin's History, to oppose to the great Names of Allix and Mosheim.

HERE I might safely rest the Matter; but as it is now in my Way, I will farther confirm what I think already well established, by one or two ancient Authorities, out of the many I have at Hand. In an ancient *Abridgement of the Opinions of the Waldenses*, recorded by *Wolffius*, at the Year 1160, it is said: "They absolutely deny the Pope's Primacy over all Churches, and more especially his Power over all Policies, that is, his Power of both Swords; neither do they hold, that any other

† *History of the Puritans*, Vol. 1, p. 191.



“ other Orders ought to be retained in the Church,  
 “ but those of Priests, Deacons and Bishops †.”  
 And Mr. Limborch produces out of the Book of  
 the *Sentences of the Inquisition* of Tholouse, passed  
 in that Court, from the Year 1307 to 1323, the  
 following Charge, which, among many others, was  
 brought by the Inquisitors against the Waldenses,  
 viz. That they held “ that in the Church there  
 “ are *but three* Orders, namely, Bishops, Priests  
 “ and Deacons\*.” When the Doctor shall have  
 invalidated these antient Authorities, by shewing,  
 either that they are *certainly interpolated or spurious*,  
 or that they are no Evidence of what they are  
 alledged to prove, others shall be at his Service.

ON the Subject of *Confirmation* he says but lit-  
 tle. He had objected against the Practice in the  
 Words of the *Dissenting Gentleman*, and I had  
 answered him in the Words of Mr. White. He  
 now requests the Reader, and I heartily join in the  
 Request, that he would compare the *Objections*  
 and the *Answer*; and if the latter will not be  
 found adequate to the former, I can only say that  
 I am greatly mistaken. He concludes with decla-  
 ring, that Mr. Towgood was a Man of much  
 greater Abilities than Mr. White, and Mr. Peirce  
 than Dr. Grey. One Reason for this Opinion is  
 obvious; Mr. Towgood was a *Dissenting Gentle-*  
*man*, and---so was Mr. Peirce ||. His

† *Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedmont*, by Dr.  
 Allix, p. 139.

\* *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. 1, Book 1, Chap. 8, tran-  
 slated by S. Chandler. Let the learned Reader also consult  
 Usher's elaborate Work, *de Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione*  
*et Statu*, Cap. vi, et viii, where he will find the same Point  
 most abundantly and unanswerably proved.

|| Perhaps this may be disputed. Dr. Trougher says;  
 “ it is well known, that Mr. Peirce of Exeter, who pretended



HIS next Section contains all that he says in Reply to five Sections of the *Appeal defended*, written in Support of as many Sections of the *Appeal*; wherein it was shewn, that without an Episcopate the Church of England in the Colonies must necessarily be without Ordination, Confirmation and a regular Government---that so considerable a Part of a national Church, suffering so long under the Want of its own Institutions, was an unparalleled Case---and that Application for an Episcopate at that Time was apprehended to be peculiarly seasonable, for many Reasons that were there assigned, and particularly on Account of the American Heathens, whose Case was largely explained. These Subjects all directly tended to the Point in Hand, and were necessary Parts of such a Publication as the *Appeal*; and as so little is now said relating to them by my persevering Antagonist, what was advanced in those Sections may now be considered as generally established. But notwithstanding their being thus secure, I shall attend to the few stragling Exceptions still remaining, that have any Appearance of Force or Plausibility.

In this Number can hardly be included what is said in p. 86, in Opposition to an Observation made in the *Appeal*, that none but Bishops have a Right to govern the Church. This Proposition was affirmed of the Church in its simple, original State, considered barely as a spiritual Society; and the  
Government

“ to be a Presbyterian, or independent Teacher or Minister  
 “ there, was not only a *Jesuit*, but an Heretic too, and had  
 “ his Followers as such.” See his LEGACY, &c. p. 9. He  
 says also: “ After he (Mr. Peirce) had been a Preacher in a  
 “ Conventicle for many Years he declared himself an *Arian*,  
 “ and was discovered to have been all the Time a *Jesuit* in  
 “ Disguise.” *Ibid.* p. 33.



Government spoken of was evidently such as is *purely spiritual*. The Doctor objected that the Church of England has no Authority of a spiritual Nature, because She acknowledges all Manner of Jurisdiction to flow from the Crown. Instead of a direct Reply to the Objection in *that* Place, it was thought proper to refer the Reader back, to where the Subject had been formally considered †, and where it was clearly proved that the Supremacy of the Crown was never thought to include spiritual Power, in the Sense of the Objection. And I still think “it would have been ‘paying but an ill Compliment to the Reader’s ‘Understanding,’ to repeat to him what had been said but 50 Pages before: And I beg Liberty again to refer to it, as a sufficient Refutation of all the Doctor said on the Subject in his *Answer*, p. 56, and of all he now says in his *Reply*, p. 86, and indeed of all that he can say.

NOR do I think it worth while to follow him through his Disquisition about the *Head* of a Thing, and the *Middle* of it: Not that I mean to retract what I said about his mistaking one for the other, but because it can be of no Consequence to our Readers. I had advanced, in what, if he pleases, he may call the *Head* of my third Section, this general Proposition, that without Bishops the Church of England in America must be without Government. This Proposition, I observed, was not meant absolutely and strictly, but in a qualified Sense. The Doctor objected to this in his *Answer*; to which it was said in Reply, that it is ‘agreeable to strict Method, first to lay down a ‘general Proposition, and then to mark out the ‘Exceptions.

† *Appeal defended*, p. 49.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 111

“ Exceptions and Limitations with which it is to be understood.” He now rejoins, p. 89, that it is neither consistent with *Method*, or (nor) *good Sense* to limit a Proposition that is not capable of Limitation. I know of no general Proposition that is incapable of Limitation. Indeed *universal* Propositions, in Strictness, do not admit of Limitation; but yet, as they are sometimes used by the most correct Writers and Speakers, they must be taken in a qualified Sense. The Psalmist says: They are “ all gone out of the Way, they are altogether become abominable; there is none that doeth good, no *not one*.” And yet this Proposition, predicated of “ the Children of Men,” although it be an universal Affirmative, guarded both by positive and negative Terms, was never true in any other than a limited Sense. But as to *general* Propositions, as distinguished from *universal* ones, a Capacity of Limitation is essential to their Nature; for a Proposition that admits of no Limitation, is not *general*, but *universal*. However, the Limitation of which a *general* Proposition is always capable, is not always required. For,

‘ As to Ordination, the general Proposition, that without Bishops the Church of England in America must be without Ordination, is true without any Exception,’ or Limitation. In Answer to this the Doctor said, that notwithstanding our Want of Bishops, we might have the Ordination we wanted in America, attended with some *Inconvenience and Charge*. This, considered as an Answer to the Complaint, I thought amounted to saying, that we might have Ordination in America, by having it in England. Dr. Chauncy says in Reply, *the Doctor is here illogically insensible that*  
he



*he is sneering at himself.* p. 90. That I am here sneering at myself, I am truly insensible; but whether my Insensibility be, according to this admirable Distinction, of the logical or *illogical* Kind, must be left to the Decision of the *learned Reader*. The Complaint was, that Ordination cannot be had at all in America, and that a Voyage to England for that Purpose it attended with great Inconvenience, Danger and Expence. What could put it into the Doctor's Head to dispute this, and to oppose it with a Number of Distinctions, which after all amounted to no more than saying, that we might have Ordinations in America by having them in England, I am unable to conceive.

BUT we are now shewn that there is no Reason for either Part of the Complaint; and we are directed how we may have Ordination in America, without having it in, or from, England. *Notwithstanding this mighty Outcry, there are at least two Bishops now residing in British America, one in the North, the other in the South Part of it, from either of which it is reasonable to think, the episcopal Office might be conveyed, with incontestible Validity, to an episcopal Presbyter; which would, at once, put an End to all farther Complaint of the Expence and Hazard in going to England to have Ordination in America.* p. 91. We do not dispute the Validity of Orders given by any true Bishop, whether he be Moravian or Papist; and I had rather receive Ordination from such an one, than from all the Presbyters, or Presbyteries, in the Christian World. But we have other Objections against applying either to the Moravians or Papists, some of which, as the Doctor appears to be serious, I will mention.



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 113

1. WE are neither Moravians nor Papists ourselves ; and therefore we cannot consistently think of making this Application to them, until we have no Prospect of Relief from the Bishops of that Church to which we belong.

2. SUCH an Application, before we know that our Petition for Bishops will be absolutely and finally rejected, much more while there is a fair Prospect of its Success, might be construed as undutiful, both by our civil and ecclesiastical Governors, whom Providence has placed over us, and to whom we, the Clergy in particular, have sworn to behave dutifully and obediently.

3. IT would be schismatical. We should thereby separate and withdraw ourselves from that sound Part of the Catholic Church, which justly claims us as its Members, and is intitled to our Obedience. And we look upon Schism in the Church of Christ to be as criminal as it was in the Jewish Church, although it be not immediately punished by the like visible Interpositions of Heaven. We look upon Schism in the Church to have much of the same Nature with Rebellion in the State ; and the Guilt of both is so flagrant in our Opinion, that we constantly pray in our Litany, to be preserved from it---“ from all false  
“ Doctrince, Heresy and *Schism*,” as well as  
“ from all Sedition, privy Conspiracy and *Rebellion*.” Were the British Colonies independent of their Parent-Kingdom, the Episcopalians in this Country would be a Society independent of the national Church ; and in that Case they might seek for an Episcopate from any Part of the Globe, from which they could expect most easily to obtain  
Q it.



it. But such an Independency they do not affect--- they wish not to see ; they desire no more than the common Rights of British *Subjects*, and the common Privileges of their Fellow-Christians ; or, in other Words, such a *Toleration* as the Government allows to the Dissenters from its own religious Establishment.

4. WE have also a great Regard for the ancient Canons of the Church, which required that *Three* Bishops should impose Hands at the Ordination of a Bishop. Although this may not be absolutely necessary, yet it has been always *canonical* ; and we have such a Veneration for the Church in its primitive Ages, that we would rather submit to the Trouble of going to any Part of Europe for an Episcopate, than depart from the Example She has set us :---especially in the Consecration of our *first* Bishops, from whence, in that Case, all our future ones would probably proceed. Now the Bishops in the British Colonies are but *Two* ; and they are so remote from each other, and their Principles, as well as Interests, are in many Respects so opposite, that it would be extreme difficult to persuade them to come together, and to join in such a Consecration.

5. THE Bishop of Canada and the Moravian Bishop in Pennsylvania, are both British Subjects, and both tolerated by a peculiar Indulgence ; and they would probably conceive it to be very unbecoming in them, without the Consent of Government, to convey the episcopal Character to the Church of England in the Colonies, the Tendency of which would be to render it independent of the national Church. And before the Government  
would



would consent to this, it would undoubtedly consent to our having an Episcopate in such a Manner as is requested.

THUS our not having applied to the Moravians or Papists for a Bishop hitherto, has been a Matter both of Prudence and Conscience; and the following Reflections are very unjust, and very uncharitable. *It may reasonably, and will be strongly suspected, says the Doctor, Something more than that which is purely spiritual is hankered after, if the poor Church of England in the Colonies, is suffered to continue in a lamentably perishing Condition for Want of a Bishop, when She may have one, without any Hazard of Life, and at a small Expence of Pocket, by only repairing to an American Bishop. Surely the Cry of Distress and Misery, for Want of a purely spiritual Bishop, will be disregarded, as it ought to be, until it be made evident, that due Application has been made to one or other of the continental Bishops, and that they have refused to consecrate a Bishop for the Colonies, or to ordain Candidates for holy Orders. If the episcopal Clergy had been as zealous in their Application to the Bishops in America, as they have been elsewhere, they might without all Doubt, have had one from among themselves vested with the episcopal Powers of Ordination and Government long before now.* p. 92.

THE Doctor now takes a Leap over more than 20 Pages of my Defence, and lights down upon that Part of it, where the Society's offering to defray the Expences of going to England for Ordination was considered. He complains bitterly, p. 93, of what he calls the *scurrilous* Treatment he received in one of the New-York periodical Papers,  
on



on Account of his Answer to what I had said of the Expensiveness of such a Voyage to our Candidates. As I was not the Writer of that Paper, I will leave it to the Author to defend it, if he thinks proper, or to give the Doctor Satisfaction. But he complains bitterly of me too, for having *remarked upon it in a Manner much below the Gentleman, not to say the Christian Divine*. How the Matter was, will appear presently. He hopes *the Reader will bear with him*, while he explains the Affair; and I hope the Reader will also bear with me, while I consider that Explanation.

WHAT relates to this Subject in the Doctor's former Pamphlet, is in p. 81, in the following Words. *Another Reason* (of Complaint) *is*, 'the  
' Expence of the Voyage, which cannot be reck-  
' oned at less, upon an Average, than One Hun-  
' dred Pounds Sterling to each Person.' *And this is aggravated by the Consideration, that* 'the Ex-  
' pence must generally fall upon such, as, having  
' already expended the greatest Part of their Pit-  
' tance, in their Education, will find it extremely  
' hard to raise a sufficient Sum for the Purpose.' *I candidly suppose the Dr. had never seen, or, if he had, did not remember at the Time of writing, the Account of the Society, published in 1706, in which they say p. 74, "all young Students in those Parts*  
' (meaning the Colonies) who desire episcopal Ordi-  
' nation, are invited into England; and their  
' EXPENCES in coming and returning are to be  
' defrayed by the Society." According to this In-  
' vitation, there is no Hardship as to the Article of  
' Expence," that can be complained of, unless ab-  
' surdly, but by the Society themselves; and they cannot  
have just Reason for Complaint, as the Money they  
expend



*expend in this Way is as properly bestowed, as in Support of the Missionaries themselves.*

BEFORE the Reader proceeds farther, I beg of him to review this Passage, and to mark its apparent Design and Tendency. Is it not manifestly worded in such a Manner, as to excite the Idea, that the Voyage to England is not expensive to the Candidates? I know of several, that upon reading the Passage, understood that the Doctor absolutely affirmed this; and I know of but one Person, who at first perceived that he did not affirm it. It had been asserted, that ‘the Expence upon an Average was no less than £. 100 Sterling to each Person;’ does not the Answer lead one to believe that it is not a Farthing? Nay does it not ‘appear to be *artfully* calculated to lead the Reader also to believe something farther; namely, that concerning a plain Matter of Fact, with Regard to which it is impossible that any Missionary can be mistaken, I published to the World an absolute wilful Falsehood?’—and that I was so ‘abominably stupid,’ as to publish ‘a Falsehood which was known to be such, not only by every Missionary on the Continent, but by every Member of the Society both here and at home, and by every Bishop in the Kingdom?’ This is what I asserted; and the Assertion is true, that *to me* it had that Appearance. It was not affirmed that the Doctor *intended*, but only that I *feared* it was his Intention, to lead his Readers thus to conceive of me. The Suspicion, if there had been no Foundation for it, would, I confess, have been injurious to his Character, as such Conduct is inconsistent with common Honesty; but as the

Words,



Words, in my Opinion, naturally suggested it, and I had no other Way of judging of his Design, than from the natural Tendency and the known Effect of the Passage, he has no Reason to complain; as I formed my Judgment according to the Evidence which he himself afforded.

My Representation of the Expensiveness of the Voyage to Candidates I knew to be true; he could not know it to be false, or unfair; why then did he dispute it? And by disputing it, why would he *appear* to contradict me? By alledging against me the Society's Invitation to Candidates in 1706, he *appeared* to say, while he seemed careful to avoid expressly saying, what was yet strongly insinuated by the whole Structure of the Paragraph, that the Expence fell upon the Society, and not upon the Candidates. He knew that if what was thus artfully insinuated was received as true, what I asserted must have been received as false; and that I must have been thought a Liar, in a Case wherein I could not possibly have been mistaken, and consequently a *wilful* Liar. In this View of the Case, his supposing that I had not seen, or had forgotten, the Society's Invitation, was no more than supposing, that I did not recollect that such Evidence was in the Hands of the Public, as was a Proof of the Falseness of my Assertion. A very *candid* and charitable Supposition truly!

He conceits that I was inconsistent with myself, in pretending to suspect him in this Manner, while I allowed that he *candidly* supposed I had not seen the Society's Invitation. But to speak plainly, and without a Figure, I did not imagine that there was *Candor* in any Part of the Affair. The Word  
*candidly*



*candidly* was his own; I used it as such with the Mark of Quotation, and returned it to him in an *ironical* Sense. In Order to heighten the Irony, I introduced it with *very*, a Word of my own, saying that he *VERY candidly* made the Supposition; which *ironical* Use of the Word I would not have made, I assure him, had I imagined it could have possibly been mistaken.

IN explaining himself upon the Subject he now declares, in these Words: *in direct Contradiction to this ACKNOWLEDGED CANDOR, he* (Dr. Chandler) *would lead the Reader to think, that it was my Intention to represent him as an abominably stupid Liar. It was in Truth my real Design, explicitly as well as candidly signified, to guard him against entertaining any such Thought.* p. 97. Some People have a strange Way of putting their *Designs* in Execution. What the Doctor says was his Design, I *candidly* believe to be true, in the Sense wherein he means it. But whether I, or a common Reader, can come at that determinate Sense, there is Room to doubt. A Man may be a *Liar*, and yet not a *stupid* one; he may be *stupid*, and yet not *abominably* stupid: And whether he means, that he endeavoured to guard against the Reader's conceiving of me as a *Liar*, or as a *stupid Liar*, or only as an *abominably stupid* one, he has not said with sufficient Precision. And why should he have endeavored to *guard* against this, if he was not conscious of having said what would otherwise tend to lead into the Mistake?

THAT I made not a fair Representation of the Matter, he still insinuates, without positively affirming. *For, says he, though I neither said, nor intended*



*intended to say it before, I say it now in plain Words, that he did not declare the Truth---IF---(if what? Why if) he intended to make his Readers believe, agreeably to the evident Import of his Words, ' that ' the Expence of the Voyage to England for Orders, was, to each Person, ' out of his own Pocket without Exception, ' One Hundred Pounds ' Sterling.'* I never meant to say this; nor do my Words import, that *without Exception*, every Candidate expended in his Voyage to England £. 100 Sterling, *out of his own Pocket*. I knew very well, that every Candidate's Pocket does not contain £. 100 Sterling, and that what it does not contain cannot be expended out of it. But this I said, that the Expence of the Voyage, on an Average, is £. 100 Sterling to each Candidate; it being to some more, and perhaps to some a little less. This Expence has never been defrayed by the Society; the Candidates have generally born it themselves: But in those Instances wherein they have been unable, Donations for that Purpose have been made by their Friends, or Money has been advanced by the Congregations in which they were to officiate; and in this Case it is most commonly deducted afterwards, if they live to return, either wholly or partly from the stipulated Salary, so that thus far it finally falls upon the Candidates themselves.

BUT it seems that, in New-England, *it is common for Candidates to be much assisted in their Voyage.* This *much Assistance*, except in the Case before mentioned, seldom amounts to more than the Sea-Stores for the Passage to England, if I have been rightly informed. But supposing it to be otherwise, £. 100 Sterling is the Expence attending the Voyage of each Candidate; and whether it



it falls upon himself, or his Friends, or his future Congregation, it does not weaken the Complaint. What an intolerable Burthen would the Congregationalists in New-England esteem it, if every Ordination of theirs was loaded with the Expence of £. 100 Sterling, to be paid, either by the Candidate, or his Friends, or the Congregation? Were this the Case, if I know my own Heart, I should be ashamed of *appearing* to oppose, but would heartily join in promoting any proper Plan for their Relief.

As to the Defence of the Doctor's Conduct, in the Instance under Consideration, attempted by the Author of 'a *fictitious* Letter from a Member of the Society,' (the Letter is called *fictitious*, because the only Member of the Society, with the initial Letters of whose Name it was signed, disavowed it with abhorrence) I am not sensible that I said any Thing relating to it, that was inconsistent with the Character of a *Gentleman* or *Christian Divine*. What I said was, that without 'an abler and fairer Advocate' than the Author of that Letter, 'the Doctor's Reputation must suffer,' by the Charge of Falsehood, which a Writer in one of our periodical Papers had brought against him, on Account of the Passage that is still before us. The Falsehood charged upon him was, his publishing "that all the Candidates for  
 " holy Orders in the Church of England, have  
 " the Expences of the Voyage home paid by the  
 " Society\*." The Doctor did not directly say this; but the above-mentioned Writer thought, as most People did, that he attempted to *prove* it, and that attempting publickly to prove a Falsehood,

R was

\* A WHIP for the *American Whig*, Numb. XIV.



was equal to *publishing* a Falsehood, and might justly be called so. It had been alledged by the Doctor as a Medium of Proof that the Voyage to England was not expensive, as was represented in the *Appeal*, that the Society published such an Invitation to Candidates in 1706, as he mentioned. The Fact was not denied; but such an Application of it was the Object of the Censure. The Vindication therefore that took no Notice of this wrong Application, fell short of the Accusation; on which Account it was imperfect and feeble, and insufficient to secure the Reputation that was at Stake.

THE Doctor affects to think that the Society's Invitation in 1706 is still binding to them, unless it has been formally recalled. But as it was not expressed in Words that extended it forward, it expired of Course. It appears upon the Face of the Invitation, that it was only an occasional Act. All is expressed in the present Time, without a single Word to intimate an Intention of its being a standing and perpetual Rule. I believe that every Vote or Law of a Body Corporate, that is designed for Continuance, has some Words that clearly express that Design; and where no such Words are used, that it is always understood to be only occasional, or to serve for the present Time. But, says the Doctor, the Society Five or Six Years afterwards ordered the same *Account*, &c. containing this Invitation, to be reprinted with a Continuation; so that the Invitation, by their Order, was *printed and reprinted*: From whence he would have his Readers to infer, at least, that the Invitation was in Force Five or Six Years after it was first made. But the Book might have been order-  
ed



ed to be reprinted, without any particular View to this Passage; and the Passage might have been designedly presented again to the Public, to shew a Step that had been formerly taken, in Order to supply the Church in America with the Missionaries wanted. It appears that none accepted of the Invitation when it was first made, and that it never was repeated, any farther than every new Edition of the History that records it, made by the Society's Order, may be called a Repetition of it.

WHEN the first Candidates went home from hence, which was not until many Years afterwards, they received no Benefit from the Invitation in Question. The Society knew that, both in its Nature and Design, it was then antiquated; otherwise, if they chose not to fulfil it's Promise, they would have taken Care to recall it. About Eight Years after the Time now spoken of, Dr. Berkeley, who had resided a considerable while in this Country, in his Sermon before the Society, speaking of such Missionaries as had been born and educated in America, says: "I verily think it might increase the Number of such useful Men, if Provision were made to defray their Charges in coming hither, to receive holy Orders; passing and repassing the Ocean, and tarrying the necessary Time in *London*, requiring an Expence that many are not able to bear." This implies that he knew nothing of any Provision then in being, by Virtue of any Order, or Vote, or Invitation of the Society, for defraying the Expences attending the Voyage of Candidates: And as the Sermon was ordered to be printed, without a Correction of this Passage, or any explanatory Note, we may be certain that the Society, as a Body, knew nothing



thing of it neither. But I will not enlarge farther in so plain a Case. I will only return to Dr. Chauncy some of his own Language, relating to this Head, it being not so much my Property, as his. *The Doctor, perhaps, may in Time make higher Attainments in Learning of this Kind, than he is at present possessed of.---For it is no infrequent Thing with him to affirm that, both publickly and boldly which he never would have done, had it not been for want of more Knowledge.* p. 102.

It has always been thought very hard, that the Church of England in the Colonies should be distinguished, and, as it were, stigmatized by a Want of those religious Privileges, which are granted to all other Denominations of Christians. The Doctor, whom I will warrant---as the most compleat and universal Opponent that ever dealt in Controversy, denies this Fact too. He affirms, *that it is the exact Truth*, that the Episcopalians ‘have the ‘same Liberty’ with all other Persuasions. The same Liberty to do and enjoy some Things, they undoubtedly have: But have they the Liberty of enjoying their own peculiar Form of ecclesiastical Government, in the same Manner that other Denominations have? Can their Candidates be ordained without great Loss of Time, Hazard and Expence, as those of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists may? *If they cannot, says the Doctor, it is not owing to any Want of Liberty, but to their not using that Liberty which is equally granted to all Denominations without Distinction.* p. 103. What we have not a Liberty to enjoy consistently with our Principles, we have no Liberty to enjoy at all. But, says this *professed Defender* of LIBERTY, it is then *from your Principles only that you*  
are



*are hampered with Difficulties.* This, as I told him before, is the Language of Tyranny and Persecution, but notwithstanding he repeats it. But what can he mean, by being *hampered by Principles*? If we are allowed to enjoy and practice what our Principles require, we are not *hampered* by them: But, if we are not allowed this, we have not an equal Liberty with those, who are permitted to enjoy and practice all that their Principles do require. If no public Worship were permitted in the Colonies, but according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, the Dissenters might be told, according to the Doctor's Mode of reasoning, that they had the same Liberty with the Members of the Church; meaning that they had Liberty to do, contrary to their Inclination, what the Members of the Church *chose* to do. But would such Liberty as this content them? Would telling them that it was *only from their Principles that they were hampered with Difficulties*, silence their Complaints? I trow not. The great Complaint is that we are hampered by Difficulties, from, or on Account of, our religious Principles. We wish to have such Embarrassments removed, and to be upon the same Footing with those that are not thus embarrassed.

THE Doctor, who is so lucky as never to want for Distinctions, says, that we are *under no more Restraint, than the other Denominations, by any interposing* ACT OF THE STATE. p. 104. But what is this to the Purpose of proving, that we have the same religious Liberty with Christians of other Denominations? If we are not under Restraint from any Act of the Legislature, yet if we are under peculiar Disadvantages on some other Accounts,



counts, which render us incapable of enjoying what our Fellow-Christians of all other Denominations enjoy, why should not a Remedy be provided for those peculiar Disadvantages? Nay, should it appear that our Principles and Connections are such, that a proper Remedy could not be provided, without an *interposing Act of the State* in our Favour, we humbly conceive that this would be an Object not unworthy of the Attention of the Legislature, and that we should have a Right to petition for such an *Act*: And as barely religious Liberty, and not any Authority over others, is the End in View, no true Friends to religious Liberty and Toleration ought to oppose us. Religious Liberty consists in a Freedom to perform all the Offices and public Duties which Men's Religion requires, without Molestation or Restraint. And the Enjoyment of this Liberty may be interrupted or prevented by other Ways, as well as by the Interposition of Government. The Effect may be the same, whatever Cause, or Concurrence of Causes, may have produced it. The Episcopalians in the Colonies know and perpetually feel, that they have not the same Liberty, which they see others around them possess and exercise. They do not enjoy some of the most necessary Institutions of their Religion, and of this they complain. But they never have complained, that they had no Dominion over any of the religious Sects in the Colonies:---They have never complained of not being distinguished by any superior Advantages:---They only request, and they only wish, to be raised to an Equality. They think themselves intitled to so much, by the common Rights of Christians, which they are not conscious that they have forfeited.



THE Doctor goes on to speak of me, in the following high and figurative Language. *He can perceive no Difference between Difficulties, suffered upon Principle, in Consequence of the Non-bestowment of distinguishing Favour, and Difficulties that are suffered for not complying with the arbitrary, tyrannical Precepts of Men, in Violation of the Rights of Conscience: Yea, he would make us believe, that Difficulties suffered, upon Principle, through Want of a Grant of Favour, may, with as much Pertinency, be complained of as any of the Tortures the Saints of the most High have been harrassed with, for their Adherence to their God, from the greatest Persecutors that ever existed.* p. 104. All this is occasioned by the Animadversion I made upon a certain Assertion of his, in his former Pamphlet, *that there is no other Hardship or Difficulty in the Case (of the Episcopalians in America) than what naturally arises from professed Principles.* This, I told him, looked, as if in his Opinion, ‘ Men were  
 ‘ not to be pitied, when their Sufferings result  
 ‘ from their Principles. The most dreadful Perse-  
 ‘ cutions are no more than Sufferings inflicted up-  
 ‘ on Men for, and consequently, in some Sense,  
 ‘ resulting from their *professed Principles.* But (as  
 ‘ I proceeded) does the Doctor mean that we should  
 ‘ be left to suffer, because it is on Account of our  
 ‘ Principles? Or that Men, of whose Principles  
 ‘ HE does not approve, ought to be persecuted †?”  
 Such was the Provocation given him! Upon so slight Basis is this massy Column of Misrepresentation erected! There ought, no Doubt, to be a *Difference* made *between Difficulties, although suffered upon Principle, in Consequence of Non-bestowment of Favour,* absurdly here called *distinguishing,* when the  
 Design

† *Appeal defended,* p. 136,



Design of it is to put an End to Distinctions, and *Difficulties that are suffered from arbitrary and tyrannical Precepts*. But Difficulties are still Difficulties : and when Men, who are under no Difficulties that can interfere with the full Enjoyment of all their religious Privileges, endeavour to obstruct the Removal of Difficulties in the Way of others, because they do not approve of their Principles; they so far are actuated by the Spirit of Inquisitors, and so far discover that very Disposition, which has inflicted the severest *Tortures, the Saints of the most High have been ever harrassed with*. It concerns some People to examine their own Hearts, whether they have not, in Reality, too much of this abominable and accursed Spirit.

THE Doctor now takes another Leap that is prodigious indeed, from p. 136 to p. 196 of my *Defence*, containing the whole fourth, fifth, sixth, and the far greater Part of the seventh Sections. As he professes himself in his Title-Page to be a *Rectifier* of my *Mistakes*, and a *Refuter* of my *false arguing*, it will naturally be concluded, that he could find no Mistakes, in those 60 Pages, that he was able to rectify, nor any false arguing that he was able to refute; or, at least, none that was of material Consequence. He therefore passes on to the Case of a *Negative* put upon the Request of the *Non-Episcopalians* in *Boston*, for a Royal Charter, to enable them to conduct and manage a Fund of £. 2000 Sterling raised by Subscription, for the Support of *Missionaries among the Indian Natives*. The Defeat of this Application he insinuated to have been occasioned by *episcopal Influence*. What he meant by this Expression, I collected from a Passage in his REMARKS on the Bishop



shop of *Landaff's* Sermon, wherein he says: *It is hoped the Accounts we have had are not true, that the Negative upon this Act* (of the Boston Assembly) *was principally owing to the Influence of some of the most important Members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* I replied in the Words of an able Writer, in his *VINDICATION* of the Bishop of *Landaff's* Sermon, wherein the utter Improbability of such a Suspicion was pointed out, and an Extract of a Letter from one of the *most important* Members of the Society was given, declaring, that the Scheme sent home was rejected on Account of its internal Defects, and that “*the Society, MADE NO OPPOSITION TO IT.*” I also produced a Declaration from Mr. Apthorp, another Member of the Society, who affirmed, after due Inquiry and upon proper Authority that the Rejection was “*meerly on political and commercial Reasons, which arose from the Manner of drawing it up, and were represented by the Board of Trade to the Privy-Council, who unanimously disapproved it, when there was not one Bishop present* \*.”

THE only Evidence of the Interposition of *episcopal Influence* to defeat the above-mentioned Petition, was the Testimony of an unknown Letter-Writer; and even he affirms only that *there is Reason to think*, that the Case was as he represented it to be. Such a Testimony, in Proof of a Fact that was important in its Consequences, no reasonable Person could think worthy of Notice, especially after direct Evidence was produced to the contrary; wherefore I treated it with the Contempt

\* Mr. Apthorp's Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks, p. 39.



tempt it deserved. The Doctor now does not endeavour to establish the Reputation of his unknown Witnesses, nor to introduce any new ones; but he attempts to weaken the Influence of mine. The Archbishop, he conceits, prevaricated; Mr. Apthorp was a Quibler; and neither of them answered directly to the Point. However, he seems to allow, that *the Society in their Character as such* "made no Opposition" to the *incorporating Act* under Consideration. Nay, he confesses, *it may, in like Manner, be true, that, although Episcopalians might use their Influence against the passing this Act, yet they might not do it as such.* But if Episcopalians, in their Opposition, acted not *as such*, or in Consequence of their episcopal Principles, the Opposition they made, cannot, with any Propriety, be called an Exertion of *episcopal Influence*; that not being episcopal, which has no Relation to, or Connection with, the Doctrine or Cause of Episcopacy.

BUT notwithstanding the Want of Evidence to support it, and notwithstanding his own Concessions against it, the Doctor appears to be resolved not to give up his Suspicion, that the Plan of the *Bostonians* received an *episcopal* Overthrow. The Society, he is sure, could wish it no good; but were jealous of the Success that would probably attend it, if suffered to proceed. *I am heartily sorry, says he, I am obliged to say that this 'Number of eminently pious Men,' have given the Public so little Reason to think, that they have the Conversion of Savages much at Heart. Had this been the real Truth, it is impossible but they should have done much more than they have ever yet done to promote their Conversion. They have made it abundantly evident,*



*vident, that they had at Heart the PROPAGATION OF EPISCOPACY much more than the Conversion of Savages; and if we may be permitted to judge from their Conduct, we shall naturally, and almost necessarily, be obliged to think, they would be in Readiness to oppose any Plan for the Conversion of Savages, that did not propose to convert them by episcopising them. p. 105.*

LET us consider the Particulars of this *candid* and *charitable* Representation. The Society appear not to the Doctor to have the Conversion of Savages at Heart, because they have done no more in Order to effect it. He judges of their Inclination from their Attempts, and of their Attempts from their Success; and he allows not their Success to have been so considerable as it really has been. And yet they have always declared their earnest Desire of christianising the American Heathens; and their Declarations have been made under such Circumstances, from Time to Time, as gave no Room justly to suspect their Sincerity. Their Attempts also to convert them were early, and frequently repeated; and they have constantly, from their first Incorporation to this Day, sought for Opportunities, and have never neglected one that has offered with any Prospect of Success, to propagate the Gospel among the native Heathens of America.

THEY were no sooner formed, than they inquired for, obtained, and sent a Missionary to South-Carolina, to see what religious Impressions might be made upon the Indians in that Quarter. This was in 1702, the very next Year after their Incorporation. In 1704, having tried without Success



to persuade both an English and a Dutch Clergyman in this Country, that were conveniently situated for the Purpose, to engage in such a Service, they provided and sent over a Missionary from England, of an excellent Character, to the *Mohawks*; with Information that another Minister might be expected for the *Oneidas*, and one for every Tribe in Alliance with them, “as soon as proper and willing Persons could be found.” This Missionary, meeting with a very unfavourable Reception, thought proper, after a Year’s fruitless Trial, to give over the Attempt. Notwithstanding, another was sent over and introduced to them in 1709, but to little Purpose; yet, in the Year following, the *Request* of the Four Sachems, then in England, being thought favourable to the Society’s Intentions, it was agreed forthwith to send over Two Missionaries, with an Allowance of a Salary of £. 150 Sterling to each, besides an Interpreter and School-Master to attend him. One actually was sent; another probably could not be found to accompany him: But after a Course of unavailing Efforts to answer the great Ends of his Mission, and finding himself to be in Danger of his Life, this Missionary also was obliged to leave them. I might continue the like Account to the present Time; but as the Society’s Conduct relating to the Indians has been clearly and justly represented, by a Writer of eminent Abilities and Candor, in his *Answer to Dr. Mahew’s Observations*, nothing farther need be said in Vindication of it.

AND here it deserves special Notice, that propagating the Gospel among the American Savages was not the primary and principal Design of the Society,



Society, if we may judge, either from the Words of their Charter, or the Views of those worthy Persons who petitioned for it, or the Opinion of its leading Members from that Time to this. The Society was erected in Order “ to promote the “ Glory of God, by the Instruction of our PEOPLE in the Christian Religion.” It was to provide for the King’s LOVING SUBJECTS in the American Plantations, who are repeatedly spoken of in the Preamble to the Charter, as the great and immediate Object of the intended Charity; and the Indians are not so much as once mentioned on the Occasion. The religious State of the King’s Subjects in most of the Colonies, at that Time, was lamentably bad. Many of them had no Opportunities at all for public Worship, and were as destitute of the Christian Sacraments as the Heathens themselves. Accounts were sent home, by Persons of the best Character amongst them, that for Want of public Instruction People were daily falling away, even from the very Profession of Christianity into Heathenism, or a State of Nature. Now the Design of the Society was to stop the Progress of this Apostacy; and to recover the lapsed, by sending *orthodox* Clergymen to reside and officiate amongst them. And let Envy itself say, whether there could be a more worthy and charitable Design than this!

THE Prevention of a Christian’s Apostacy to Heathenism, is of as much Consequence in itself, at any Time, as the Conversion of a Heathen to Christianity. The Recovery of an Apostate is as great an Acquisition, as the gaining of an original Heathen. The Conversion of a civilized Heathen or Infidel, and such were many of the King’s Subjects,



Subjects, was as good a Work as the Conversion of a Savage one. It was therefore highly necessary that the Society's Charity should begin at home, among our own People---with a View, at the same Time, of extending it farther, as their Circumstances and Opportunities should permit.

SUPPOSING the Society had been at Liberty to expend as much of their Fund in propagating the Gospel among the Indians, as in supporting and propagating it among our own People, which was by no Means the Case ; yet it would have been right and judicious Conduct, in the Exercise of such a discretionary Power, to expend the far greater Part of their Money in providing for the King's Subjects. For many of the latter were not only willing to accept of Missionaries, but sincerely desired them, and earnestly requested to have them : Whereas the very Reverse of this good Temper appeared in the Indians. There was therefore Reason to expect, that the same Sum expended in the Colonies would be far more useful, and produce a much better Effect, than if expended among the neighbouring Tribes of Indians. Indeed, as St. Paul observes, Men cannot hear without a Preacher ; but if they have Preachers, and will not hear them, it is impossible that they should *believe* in Consequence of their preaching, or be profelyted to that Faith which comes by hearing. This seems to have been the general Temper and Disposition of the Indians, with Regard to Christianity.

DR. Wheelock, who has thought much upon the Subject of propagating the Gospel among the Indians, says : “ There is no such Thing as sending  
*English*



“ *English* Missionaries, or settling or maintaining  
 “ English Schools to any good Purpose, in most  
 “ Places among them, as their Temper, State and  
 “ Condition *have* been†.” Again: “ As to most  
 “ Places, there is no such Thing at present as  
 “ introducing either *English* School-Masters or  
 “ Missionaries to continue with them; such are  
 “ their Prejudices in general, and such the male-  
 “ volent and ungovernable Temper of some, that  
 “ none but an *Indian* would dare to venture his  
 “ Life among them\*.” Such is the Character and  
 Disposition of the Indians in general, and such it  
 has been ever since the Incorporation of the Society,  
 according to Dr. Wheelock.

THAT the Society have made it *abundantly evi-*  
*dent, that they had at Heart the Propagation of*  
*Episcopacy, much more than the Conversion of Savages,*  
 is a vile Reflection on that venerable Body. Dr.  
 Mayhew, taught by another, and instigated by his  
 own *anti-episcopal* Zeal, was guilty of this Abuse  
 some Years ago, for which he received public  
 Correction. Dr. Chauncy has the Hardiness to  
 repeat it, notwithstanding a Vindication of the  
 Society, that has been deemed fully satisfactory by  
 the candid and impartial; for which I beg Leave  
 to refer to the before-mentioned *Answer* to Dr.  
 Mayhew's *Observations*.

IF the Society had the Propagation of Episcopacy  
 at Heart, in the Sense wherein it is objected, they  
 would undoubtedly have instructed their Missiona-  
 ries to make this a considerable Part of their  
 Business. It can never be supposed that they would  
 send

† See a plain and faithful NARRATIVE, &c. p. 19.

\* Ibid. p. 21.



send Persons abroad, at a great Expence, with a View to any particular Service, without informing them that such Service was expected from them. But nothing of this Kind has ever been given in Charge in their *public* Instructions : On the other Hand, their Missionaries are directed to “keep  
 “always in View the great Design of their Under-  
 “taking, viz. To promote the Glory of God, and  
 “the Salvation of Men, by propagating the Gospel  
 “of our Lord and Saviour ;” and it is required of them, “that the chief Subject of their Sermons be  
 “the great fundamental Principles of Christianity,  
 “and the Duties of a sober, righteous and godly  
 “Life, as resulting from those Principles†.” And as to *private* Directions, although from the very Nature of them I cannot be so positive about these, as their public ones ; yet I most firmly believe, from every Thing that I can recollect or learn upon Inquiry, that no Missionary was ever instructed, either verbally before he came abroad, or by any Letter or Letters afterwards, to endeavour to propagate Episcopacy, or any of the distinguishing Principles of the Church of England. And if any Missionaries have made the Attempt, or have behaved in such a Manner as to give just Umbrage to any of their Neighbours, it has been their own free and voluntary Act, and what the Society have never required at their Hands.

THE Missionaries wish, that all the King's Subjects, throughout the British Dominions, would become Episcopalians and Members of the Church of England : But, as they are not employed to molest any Protestants in the Enjoyment of their own Principles, so I believe they seldom do---far-  
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† See a Collection of Papers, &c. p. 20 and 23.



ther than their own necessary Defence may require. Within the Compass of my Knowledge, I am verily persuaded, that for every Instance of an Attack made upon the Dissenters by any Missionary or Member of the Church, *Twenty* at least are made by Dissenters upon Churchmen. I know more of their Conduct of this Kind than perhaps they imagine ; and I have often been surprised to discover, to what low and pitiful Arts some, who think themselves Men of Consequence, can descend, in Order to prevail with the most insignificant Person, and sometimes even with a stupid Negro, to leave the Church and go to their Meeting.

THE Assertion, that we are *naturally and almost* necessarily obliged to think, from the Society's *Conduct*, that they would OPPOSE *any Plan for the Conversion of the Savages, that did not propose to convert them by episcopising them*, I should not have expected from a Gentleman of the Doctor's Character, as it is worthy of a *Savage* only. Unless the Society look upon Presbyterianism, for Instance, to be no better than Indian Heathenism, they would choose rather that the Indians should become Presbyterians, than remain in their present State. They undoubtedly wish, in the first Place, that every Indian may be converted, and that every such Conversion may be compleat ; *i. e.* that every proselyted Indian may become not only almost, “ but “ altogether such,” both in Faith and Practice, as the Rules and Precepts contained in Scripture are thought to require. If they cannot be persuaded to become *altogether* such, they wish, in the next Place, that they may become *almost*, and as nearly such as possible. The Society wish to be instrumental in converting all the Indian Tribes : But, as  
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they



they know that they are unable to carry this into Execution, they envy none the Honour of being Sharers in this good Work, that are able and willing to promote it in any Degree. If they had rather the Indians should become Members of that Church which they prefer, than stop short of it, they are not censurable for this; for, at the same Time, they had rather they should become Protestants, of any Denomination, than Papists---and they had rather they should become Papists, than continue to be Heathens. I could produce, from their History and annual Abstracts, many Proofs of this Disposition; and I defy their bitterest Enemies, even Dr. Chauncy himself, to bring any Proof of the contrary.

THE Indian Mission at Stockbridge, under the Direction of the *Commissioners* (of the Society in Scotland) residing in Boston, is indebted to Members of our Society for considerable Donations. It is more indebted to the Members of the Church of England; who have given more to promote that single Mission, than I believe the Dissenters have ever given to *the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, from its first Existence to this Day. If Missionaries from New-England should receive Checks from Government in any Part of their Proceedings, this cannot, with any Justice or Propriety, be charged to the Account of the Society. If Government should hereafter discover, or have Reason to suspect, that any of those Missionaries endeavour, together with the Propagation of their Religion, to establish a *political* Interest of their own Party, different from the general Interest of the Nation; or, that they incumber the *Sale of Lands* to the British Crown, by stipulating with the Indians for



for certain Conditions in Favour of their own Schemes ; they will have no Right to expect the Countenance of Government in such Proceedings. The Doctor knows that Things of this Kind *may* hereafter happen, for this good Reason, that they lately have happened ; he will therefore do well to be cautious in blaming the Society in such Cases.

It was thought strange that he should insinuate that the before-mentioned *incorporating Act* was defeated by *episcopal Influence*, without taking Notice of Mr. Apthorp's Declaration to the contrary, which he could not have been ' such a Stranger in ' Israel ' as not to have seen. The Matter is now clearly accounted for, in p. 108. *It is at once solved*, replies the Doctor, *by only saying, it was none of my Business to take Notice of this Evidence, until it had been produced.* The Reader here sees in what Manner he has rendered himself so very exceptionable, both in his Reasonings and Representations. He neglected all Evidence on one Side the Question, how fully soever he was acquainted with it, unless I had *produced* it ; and he thought it was not his *Business*, to ballance and compare counter Evidences, but to rake together every Thing that had an unfavourable Aspect *only* ; in Order to vilify and abuse the Church of England, and *the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, with a farther View of obstructing the Progress of

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§ The Author has seen, and could publish, some curious Copies of Letters, of a late Date, to and from one of the Indian Missionaries from New-England ; but as he hopes the *Commissioners* will be careful that those whom they employ to proselyte the Indians, behave in an unexceptionable Manner for the future, these Letters for the present shall not be exposed.



our Plan. After this honest and artless Confession, his Readers will know how to make proper Allowances, for what he advances in a controversial Way.

IN the *eighth* Section of the *Appeal*, a full and fair Account was given, of the only Plan on which it was requested than an American Episcopate might be granted, with Expostulations on the Reasonableness of such an Appointment. In *Answer* to this Section the Doctor seemed really to exert himself; and he called in, to aid his own Efforts, what he says was POWERFULLY offered by the late excellent Dr. Mayhew. In my Reply, particular Notice was taken of every Thing produced, either from his own Store or the late Dr. Mayhew's Magazine, that appeared to have Force; and enough was said to shew, if I am not greatly mistaken, that every Objection exhibited was either groundless or impertinent. The Doctor in his *Rejoinder*, which he miscalls his *Reply*, seems to say a great deal in Support of his former Objections. It is here, if any where, that he aims his Blows directly at the Vitals of the Episcopate requested, and does his utmost; for which Reason I shall take a particular Review of what, in this Place, he has done and said.

BEFORE he proceeds to an immediate Attack, he has some Observations of a miscellaneous Nature, several of which I shall pass by as utterly impertinent. He begins with endeavoring to raise, in the Minds of Readers, but an indifferent Idea of what I had said upon the *main Point*. He tells them that he was greatly disappointed, that I fell short of his Expectation, and that what I said on the Subject was *less convincing* than what I had offered



*ferred in any Part of my Performance.* p. 109. This, I think, discovers his Heroism, rather than his Policy; for according to the apparent Weakness of his Antagonist, the Honor of a Victory will be proportionably abated.

HERE he again takes Notice of our Convention's Address to the University of Cambridge, on the Subject of American Bishops; and he seems to think, that, because some of his Friends have published a *spurious* Copy of that Address, therefore he is intitled to a *true* one. He is determined not to be satisfied until he sees a Copy that is genuine, and will continue to suspect that the obnoxious Expressions contained in the false Copy were also in the true one, notwithstanding our Declarations to the contrary. This is treating us rather ungenerously, as the Testimony of a Number of Persons that have seen and are acquainted with any particular Writing, is always allowed to have more Weight, than the Testimony of a single Person, perhaps an unknown one, that has never seen it---where the Dispute is about the Contents of that Writing. If therefore he determines not to submit to the Evidence of our Testimony, I advise him, for the present, to suspend his Judgment of the Matter, until he shall obtain a Sight of the Address, and to wait with Patience; as Time may possibly bring forward, what it is not in his Power to hasten.

AMONG a Number of paradoxical Things advanced in his *Answer to the Appeal*, it was said: *Some of the most respectable Episcopalians, in these Parts, for Sobriety, good Sense, and a steady Attachment to the Interest of the Church of England, have declared*



*declared it to be their Opinion, that Bishops would be of no Service here, and they did not desire they should be sent.* What was meant by the indefinite Word *some*, whether Two or Two Hundred, I was unable to determine. The Doctor says I might have known the Meaning of it, *i. e.* its *precise* Meaning, if I had attended to the following Sentence. Let us see then how the Matter is cleared up in the explanatory sentence. *And it is to me, as well as to MANY I have conversed with on this Head, EPISCOPALIANS among others, very questionable, &c.* Here the Word *many* is imposed upon the Reader, as an Explanation of the Word *some* in the foregoing Sentence: Whereas *many Episcopalians* are not here mentioned, but only *many People, some of whom were Episcopalians*; so that the Word *some* is still left as indeterminate as ever. I then questioned whether there was an Episcopalian on the Continent, justly so called, that was averse to American Bishops on the Plan of the *Appeal*. I knew of none, had heard of none, could conceive of none. Such a Character is so absurd, that I did not imagine it had an actual Existence. An Episcopalian is one that, at least, approves of the Government of the Church by Bishops; but he that only approves of the Government of the Church by Bishops residing at the Distance of 3000 Miles, can hardly be said to approve of it at all, or to be an Episcopalian in any Sense. An Episcopalian is one that also approves of Ordination by Bishops; but he that only approves of episcopal Ordination under the Circumstances of a long, dangerous and expensive Voyage to obtain it, may be thought by the Doctor to be *respectable for his good Sense*, and may be esteemed by him for such an *Attachment to the Interest of the Church of England*



*England in the Colonies* ; but *as an Episcopalian* he will appear to all its real Friends to be truly ridiculous. It was therefore natural to interpret the Word *some* in as scanty a Sense as it would any Way bear ; and it was paying great Regard to his Testimony, in so incredible a Case, to believe his Assertion in that Sense.

*BUT what is all this to the Point :* says he. *It is a Fact, not a speculative Truth, we are now upon,* p. 112. This is calling the Credibility of a Fact a *speculative* Matter ; but it is speculative in no other Sense than that, wherein the Persons he mentions are *Episcopalians*---a Sense, which will never be admitted by those, who content themselves with Words in their common Acceptation.

*BUT, where is the Difficulty of supposing, that most Episcopalians on the Continent may have a quite different Notion of the Plan for an American Episcopate, from that the episcopal Clergy have of it, who were its ONLY FORMERS, and the ONLY PETITIONERS that it might be carried into Execution ?* If by the episcopal Clergy he means those of America, it is not true that they were the *only Formers* of the Plan in Question. They do not pretend to have *formed* it at all ; but they have adopted it when formed by others, not exclusively of the Laity. Nor were they the only *Petitioners* in Favour of it ; for several of the most considerable Lay-Gentlemen in the Colonies have recommended and petitioned for it, although not jointly with the Clergy of our Convention. Many others were also consulted, who signified their Approbation of it, before our Petitions were framed. All of them could not be consulted in a private Way, and therefore it was thought



thought proper to publish it to the World, before it could be put in Execution ; that all might have an Opportunity to consider it, and to offer their Objections if they had any.

THERE were many Members of the Church that were, upon the whole, averse to an Episcopate in this Country ; imagining it would either expose them to considerable Expence for its Support, or put them to some other Inconveniencies. But when they came to see, that every Thing of this Kind had been carefully guarded against, and that from its Design and Tendency it would be mild and beneficial in its Operation, which appeared as soon as it was explained to them ; their Aversion immediately ceased, and from that Time they have generally viewed it in the same Light with that wherein it is seen by the Clergy.

ALTHOUGH what has been said of the Episcopalians *in these Parts* is universally true, without an Exception, to the best of my Knowledge, the Doctor however has this to comfort him, that the Episcopalians in and about Boston, are of a different Opinion. For, says he, *that the Mission of Bishops into the Colonies would do more Hurt than good, I know, is, in Fact, the Opinion of MANY Lay-Episcopalians, and, I believe, of the greater Part of them in the New-England Colonies.* What is here said of the Episcopalians in New-England, must not be understood to extend to Connecticut, which contains more in Number than the three other Colonies, and where they are unanimous in wishing for an Episcopate. As to the Episcopalians in Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island, they are not yet universally acquainted with the Plan.



Plan. It is therefore not improbable that the Doctor may *know*, either personally or by Information, of *many*, *i. e.* of *Eight* or *Ten*, for the Word does not necessarily mean more, that still think unfavourably of an American Episcopate. But it is remarkable that he does not yet say, that *any* are averse to an Episcopate *on the Plan of the Appeal*, who are acquainted with it otherwise than by Misinformation. I fancy it would be difficult to find *many* such, or even *some*. I have inquired of Persons that are not Strangers in Boston, and I have never heard of but *one* such *Episcopalian*; and he is generally looked upon by Churchmen, and frequently by others, to be a Disgrace to his Profession. While he calls himself a Churchman, he associates and connects himself with the bitterest Enemies of the Church, is governed by their Influence, and suffers himself to be used as an Instrument in their Hands to injure its Reputation and destroy his own.

AND here it may deserve Notice, that there are many People in New-England, besides Episcopals, that have no Aversion to an American Episcopate. This may be justly said of the Quakers in general, unless they differ widely from their Brethren in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, where they are more numerous and more respectable than in any other Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, compared with the other Inhabitants. And a Writer in Favour of the Baptists in New-England, who is supposed to express the general Sentiments of that Denomination of Christians, says, with a Tartness that seems to have been excited by an Opinion of their Oppression: "The Fraternity," (meaning the Presbyterian or congregational Ministers)



nisters) “last Year have sent Letters to Baptist  
 “Ministers in New-England, requesting their Aid  
 “against the Church of England. But truly it is  
 “the Interest of the Baptists that the Church of  
 “England should multiply in Massachusetts and  
 “Connecticut, so far as to form a Ballance of  
 “ecclesiastical Power there, as in other Colonies.  
 “And as for *Bishops*, they are welcome there;  
 “their coming thither is an Object *worthy of PE-*  
 “TITIONS; we cannot be worse off; we may be  
 “better: *they* are Gentlemen at least, and have  
 “some Generosity for vanquished Enemies. But  
 “the New-England People (of a certain Deno-  
 “mination) are supercilious in Power, and mean  
 “in Conquest. I will venture to say, that all the  
 “Bishops in Old England have not done the Bap-  
 “tists there so much Despite for 80 Years past, as  
 “the Presbyterians have done *this Year* to the  
 “Baptists of New-England\*.” And that the  
 latter are not inconsiderable in Number appears  
 from what this Writer tells us, who asserts that  
 “there are 37 Congregations of them in Massa-  
 “setts” only; to say nothing of Rhode-Island,  
 where they are more numerous and much more  
 powerful than in any of the other Colonies.

THE Doctor objected against our Plan, that it  
 had been *illegally* settled. This Objection, if just,  
 more nearly concerns the Friends of the Plan,  
 than its Enemies: And while he objects the *Ille-*  
*gality* of the Plan, he says much to persuade us to  
 put it *far more illegally* into Execution. But why  
 was it illegally settled? Because, says he, it was  
 projected and formed, *to the intire Neglect of his*  
*Majesty, without whose LICENCE, not even the Con-*  
*vocation*

\*Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Nov. 26th, 1770.



*vocation have any Right to settle such a Plan, or so much as ATTEMPT to form it.* p. 113. In Reply to this he was told, that under whatever Restraints a Convocation might be laid, the Plan was not the Work of a Convocation. But he argues, that if the Convocation, without a special Licence, cannot attempt such a Thing, much less can it be attempted by Clergymen out of Convocation--- Clergymen of less Distinction perhaps, and fewer in Number. But this Argument is by no Means conclusive. The Parliament of Great Britain, for Instance, when met together upon public Business, are tied up to the Strictness of Rules and Forms; but when the Members meet together occasionally or designedly, in their private Character, they are free from those Restraints to which they were subject in their parliamentary Capacity. The like may be said of the Convocation; the Members of which, at a private Meeting, may lawfully do many Things, and in such a Way, as are not permitted to be done at all, or in that Way, in Convocation.

NOR has his Majesty been *intirely neglected* in this Affair. Indeed the Prince upon the Throne was never neglected, when the Scheme for an American Episcopate was made the Object of Attention. The Case of the Episcopalians in the Colonies was duly considered by the Society, and the Plan for an Episcopate, peculiarly fitted to their Circumstances, was brought nearly to its present Form, in the Reign of Queen *Anne*---when an Order was issued by the Crown, for a Bill to be drawn and presented to the Parliament for the Confirmation of it §. An American Episcopate was proposed

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§. See the *Appeal*. p. 52.



long before this Time: The Subject then was brought before the King's Privy Council, so that we have no Reason to think his Majesty was neglected, at that Time. The same venerable Person, who furnished the Extract from Cranmer's *Catechism*, in another Letter of Feb. 28th, 1770, to a different Person, says :---“ that *he* had met with  
 “ an original Letter, that fell into his Hands by  
 “ Executorship, from Dr. *Alexander Murray*, in  
 “ which he found that the Council had come to a  
 “ Resolution to establish Episcopacy in Virginia;  
 “ that he himself (Dr. Murray) who had attended  
 “ *Charles II.* abroad, should be the first Bishop;  
 “ that the Plan of Establishment was referred to  
 “ the Bishop of London and Sir Orlando Bridg-  
 “ man, and this was, so far as *he* could recollect,  
 “ Oct. 16, 1673. And *he* supposes the Matter  
 “ then died, by the *Cabal's* throwing out Sir Or-  
 “ lando in the November following, before the  
 “ Bishop and he made their Report\*. He adds,  
 that he had returned the Original to the Duke of Bedford, with several other Papers belonging to the Duke's Family, but had taken a Copy of it. To say nothing farther of the intermediate Reigns, the Plan was properly laid before his present Majesty, and he heartily approved of it; and of this Royal Approbation some Members of our Convention had received authentic Evidence, before their Petitions were voted. As therefore our Friends have no just Reason to blame us for proceeding *illegally, to the intire Neglect of his Majesty*, our  
 Enemies

\* The late Archbishop discovered, from some Papers of Bishop Gibson, that there was such a Design in the Time of *Charles, II.* and “ that Letters Patent for that Purpose are  
 “ still extant.”

Let. to *Walpole*. p. 17.



Enemies have certainly no Right to reproach us with it.

*WHY then was not the Plan introduced with particular Notice of so important a Point of Deference to the Royal Supremacy?* p. 118. Because it was not needful. The Design was to inform the ignorant of the true Plan that was proposed for an American Episcopate, and to convince the prejudiced of the Reasonableness of it; and it would not have promoted either Part of the Design, to have told the Reader what the King thought of it. But afterwards, in replying to the Doctor's Objections, this Information became proper, and he doubtless received from it no small Consolation. However, he is not altogether satisfied, for he inquires farther: *Why is there not now exhibited in Form some authentic Proof of the King's LICENCE to contrive and publish the Plan we HAVE HAD HELD out to View?* p. 116. The King could give no Licence to *contrive* a Plan that was contrived long before he existed; but authentic Proof of his Approbation of it, and that he does not look upon the Steps that have been taken as any Infringement of the Royal Supremacy, we are able to give. We pretend not to have proceeded in all the Forms of a Convocation, which would have been a ridiculous Affectation, nor to have received a *Licence* under the great Seal. Such a Licence was not necessary; it was sufficient for our Convention, that his Majesty had considered and was favorable to the Episcopate in View, and that our Evidence of his favorable Disposition was such as could not be questioned. Our Evidence of this important Fact we have not laid before the Public; because this would be taking a Liberty that has not been granted;



granted; and we are resolved to do nothing but what is *strictly* warrantable.

IF nothing else could be said to justify the Conduct of those who proposed the Plan, yet ‘ the Charter granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has the Nature and Efficacy of a Royal Commission,’ and warranted them to concert any Plans that might be thought necessary, in Order more fully to answer the Ends of their Incorporation. They *soon* were convinced that an American Episcopate would be highly useful to this Purpose. They mention the Matter as early as the *Abstract* annexed to the anniversary Sermon preached in 1703, by Bishop Burnet. From their entering so soon upon the Subject, it may fairly be concluded, that, in *their* Opinion, the Charter gave them the Authority in Question.

INDEED the Doctor allows, that the Society had a Right to form *a general Plan for sending Bishops to America*, and that this may be *perfectly consistent with due Honor to the Royal Supremacy*; but not to plan such an Episcopate as that of the *Appeal*. For, it seems, the Bishops therein proposed, are *to carry on the Business of ecclesiastical Government and Discipline in a Manner quite different from that which is enjoined by the Authority of the King and Parliament.* p. 117. The King and Parliament have prescribed in what Manner ecclesiastical Government shall be administred in England; but the Statute is not quoted, wherein they have enjoined any Form of it for the Colonies. Indeed he alledges the 73d Canon, which is pointed against those that *impeach or deprave* “ the Government or “ Discipline established in the Church of England;”  
but



but nothing which has not this Tendency is forbidden by the Canon. The Canon could have no Reference to the Colonies, because they were not settled at the Time of framing it; and therefore it is not violated, by proposing an Episcopate for the Colonies, that is peculiarly adapted to the Circumstances of the Inhabitants.

BUT, says the Doctor: *Why do Colony-Episcopalians glory in being Members of the Church of England, if there is no Church of England here? And if there is, it is as reasonable to suppose the Canon was intended to guard its established Form of Government against Impeachment and Depravation here, as at home.* p. 118. We glory in being Members of the Church of England, because we esteem it to be the purest and best Church upon Earth. We are Members of that Church, notwithstanding our distant Situation, because we not only receive her Articles and embrace her Liturgy, but more especially because we submit to her Authority, and all our ecclesiastical Offices are performed by Power derived from her Bishops. The Church of England therefore extends itself into the Colonies, and *partly* exists here; although at present in such an imperfect State, for Want of an Episcopate, as to be a proper Object of the charitable Interposition of all its Friends.

BUT if the Church of England exists here, it is argued, that the Canon must have been intended to guard its *established Form of Government* here, as well as at home. But how could the Canon be intended to guard its *established Form*, where no Form is established? The Canon was evidently designed to extend, and it can extend, no farther than



than to where the Church was, or is established. It may be established here by the same Authority that has established it at home, and yet under a different *Form*, in many Respects, without *impeaching* or *depraving* any Part of the Establishment which it has in England. For in framing Laws for the external Regulation of a Church, as well as of any other Society, Reference ought always to be had to the Circumstances of the Country, and the Opinions or Prejudices that generally prevail in the Minds of People. On this Account, the Government of the Church may require one mode of Administration in England, and another here; and such a Difference will be no *Impeachment* on either Side. For while it is allowed, that a certain Mode of Administration is the fittest for that Country in which it obtains; it is no Reflection to say, that it is not fit for a different Country, with a View to which it was never framed. The present ecclesiastical Government in England, although perhaps in some Points capable of Improvement, yet, upon the whole, may be better adapted to that Kingdom, than any other Form that can be devised. At the same Time, the Episcopate proposed for America, may be fiter for America, than such an Episcopate as is established in England. In these Cases, the American Episcopate will imply no Reflection upon the English Episcopate, nor the English upon the American; as each may be best fitted, in such different Countries, to answer, the great Ends of the general Appointment.

THE Church of England claims to herself a Right, and she allows the same to all Churches, to regulate or alter the *Externals* of Religion, as Circumstances may require. Previously to the Settlement



ment of ecclesiastical Matters soon after the Accession of Queen *Elizabeth*, this Point was fully canvassed; and at a public Disputation between the protestant and popish Divines, the former contended for and supported this Proposition---“ that  
 “ every particular Church hath Authority to institute, change and abrogate Ceremonies and Rites  
 “ of the Church (meaning every Thing belonging  
 “ to its Worship or Discipline that is not essential)  
 “ so that it be to Edification\*.” Accordingly the Doctrine of this Proposition was soon after brought into *Art. xxxiv.* “ It is not necessary, says the  
 “ Article, that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all  
 “ Places one or utterly like, for at all Times they  
 “ have been diverse, and may be changed *according to the Diversity of Country and Men’s Manners*, so that nothing be ordained contrary to  
 “ God’s Word.----Every particular or national  
 “ Church hath Authority to ordain, change and  
 “ abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church,  
 “ ordained only by Men’s Authority; so that all  
 “ Things be done to edifying.” The same Language is used in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer established by 14 CHARLES II, and in many other Places. According therefore to the Doctrine of the Church of England, “ the Diversity of Country  
 “ and Men’s Manners” may be a sufficient Reason, for settling an Episcopate in America under different Regulations, and a different external Form, from what may be esteemed preferable in England.

WERE the Circumstances of this Country the same with those of England, an Episcopate of the same Kind with that in England would have been the Object of our Plan; for we believe, as the

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Legislature

\* *Strype’s Annals*, p. 92, and *Appendix*, p. 40.



Legislature at home believe, that such an Episcopate is best fitted for such a Country. Were the Circumstances of England the same with those of the Colonies, such an Episcopate as would be best for the Colonies, would also be best for the Mother-Country. In that Case, I confess, it would be *an idle Thing to say*, 'that Circumstances in America require that the External of an Episcopate should be under a Regulation peculiar to this Country.' But he that cannot see that the Circumstances of the Two Countries are widely different, must be blind with a Witness; and he that can argue for the Propriety of any Mode or external Form under certain Circumstances, because it is proper under different Circumstances, is *idle* indeed. Strange! that the Doctor, who can frequently make Distinctions where there is no Difference, should not be able to distinguish so glaring a Difference!

BUT we are told, that *no Circumstances, unless those of a meer worldly Nature, which have nothing to do with a purely spiritual Kingdom, can make it fit, suitable or reasonable, that the Mode of an Episcopate should be different (here) from what it is at home*, p. 120. It may be said, in the like Strain, that no Circumstances, but those of a mere worldly Nature, which have nothing to do with a purely spiritual Kingdom, can make it reasonable or fit, that the Mode of supporting the Clergy here, should be different from what it is at home, namely, by Tithes. This Proposition is in the same Style with the Doctor's, and is as unexceptionable as his. The spiritual Kingdom of Christ is indeed not *of* this World; yet it exists *in* the World, and as the Subjects of it are not *pure Spirits*, like the Bishops  
the



the Doctor allows us, it may be greatly affected by the Things of this World. But I will not enlarge on so plain a Subject. If the Episcopate now proposed, would be better received, and probably have a better Effect in America, than the English Episcopate; it is, of the two, the fiter for this Country. It is of no Consequence in this Debate, whether the Fitness arises from Considerations that are *purely spiritual*, or not. Fitness is Fitness; Reasonableness is Reasonableness; and whatever is fit and reasonable to be done, ought always to be done. It is therefore submitted to the Reader's Judgment, whether the Plan for an American Episcopate which has been offered to the Public, has any Tendency to *impeach* or *deprave* the established Government of the Church of England---any more, than a particular Mode of maintaining the Clergy in one Country, is an Impeachment of a different Mode of maintaining them in another Country.

AFTER all, what is this to the Doctor, or his Adherents? Are he and they, on a sudden, become so friendly, as to desire that the Advocates for the Episcopate in Question may not incur the Penalty of a Canon? He, good Man, seems to be under great Concern for us on this Account. We are obliged to him for his *Friendship*; but he may spare himself all his Uneasiness, as we are safe without it.

HIS *Fulminations* hitherto have resembled that distant Cannonading, which often precedes and introduces a close Engagement, where Noise and Smoak are the most that is expected. But now he proceeds to immediate Action. His Five capital



Objections, like so many standing Batteries formerly erected, he again brings to *bear* upon the Plan that has been advanced---but, with what Force and Execution, will shortly appear from a distinct View of each.

OBJECTION I. *The Government and Discipline of the Church of England, under the proposed American Episcopate, is injurious both to the Church, and the Bishops that are to preside over it, p. 121.* He thought it injurious to the Church, because it was to have no immediate Effect upon the Laity. To this it was answered: ‘If the Laity are not to be affected by the Bishop’s Authority, they are certainly not to be injured by it; that, which does not operate at all, producing no Effect, either injurious or beneficial\*.’ He now asks: *Is this a fit Answer for public View?* It was offered as such, and I see no Reason to be ashamed of it. *No one, says he, I believe, before the Doctor ever said, it was not injurious to deprive the Laity of a spiritual Privilege they are supposed to be intitled to, and by a Grant from Jesus Christ.* For my Part, I believe Dr. Chauncy is the first, that ever talked of *depriving* Men of what they never had in Possession. If the not bestowing a Favour may be called a *Deprivation*, it may be said of him, that he has been deprived of the Bishoprick of London.

THE *spiritual Privilege*, of which he supposes the American Laity to be *deprived* by our Plan, is that of being immediately under the Government of Bishops; but if they are not desirous of being under such Government, they certainly cannot consider it, nor ought it to be mentioned, in the  
Light

\* *Appeal defended, p. 206.*



Light of a *Privilege*. The Doctor often speaks of ecclesiastical Discipline, as only the Rule for punishing, or the Punishment itself, of ecclesiastical Delinquents; according to which Use of the Word, the Privilege for which he contends, in Behalf of the American Laity, is *the Privilege of being punished* for their Offences. So that his *Privilege* is of as new and extraordinary a Nature, as his *Deprivation*. For tell a Criminal of his *Privilege* of receiving public Correction, and he will take it as an Insult. If the Doctor had contended for ecclesiastical Punishment, which he means by the Word *Discipline*, as a *Benefit* to the Church in general, or sometimes even to the Delinquents themselves, and not as a *Privilege* to the Sufferers, he might have been free from Absurdity.

THIS Matter of Discipline seems to have been strangely misunderstood, or misrepresented, by my Opponent. It is not proposed that the American Laity of the Church of England, after the Settlement of an Episcopate, shall be under no ecclesiastical Discipline at all; for they are not so at present. It is the Duty of the Clergy now, and it will be considered as their Duty under the proposed Episcopate, to make Use of public and private Admonition, and to repel from the holy Communion, as Cases may require; and it does not appear, that a more severe Discipline than this, would, in the present Age, and in this Country, tend to Edification. The Enemies of the Church of England reproached the Establishment of it by Queen *Elizabeth*, with the Neglect of Discipline; but its celebrated *Apologist* maintained in Answer to them, that She was guilty of no criminal Neglect in this Respect. “*Nos---quantum his Moribus et Tempo-*  
“*ribus,*



“ *ribus*, &c. *i. e.* as far as the present Times, and  
 “ the present State of Manners, in this Age of  
 “ general Corruption, will *admit of*, we do care-  
 “ fully administer ecclesiastical Discipline \*.” This  
 he thought a sufficient Justification of the Church  
 of England; not imagining that She was obliged  
 to make Use of a severer Discipline than the Times  
 would admit of. The same Plea is offered for the  
 Episcopate proposed for the Colonies. As much  
 Discipline over the Laity as the State of this  
 Country will admit of, is in the Hands of the  
 Clergy; and therefore more will not be introduced  
 by the Bishops of our Plan. Consequently, *in this*  
*Respect*, they will not be *immediately* beneficial to  
 the Laity. However, as they will probably cause  
 some of the Clergy to be more attentive to their  
 Duty in general than they would otherwise be, and  
 to that of Discipline, as well as others; in this  
 Way they will be really beneficial to the Laity, by  
 the Instrumentality of the Clergy.

UNDER this Objection the Doctor urged, that  
 our Plan would be *injurious to the Bishops* proposed,  
 by restraining their Power. It was answered, that  
 if such a Restriction was not injurious to the  
 Church, it could be no Injury to the Bishops. I  
 could not conceive of the Authority of Bishops,  
 under the Notion of so much *private Property* be-  
 longing to them; in Consequence of which every  
 Limitation of their Authority would be so much  
*Damage* sustained by the Bishops. This was men-  
 tioned as an absurdity attending the Doctor’s Posi-  
 tion. He now refers to it, not as a supposed Ab-  
 surdity of his, but as a Principle of mine; and  
 makes a Flourish in the following abusive Excla-  
 mation:

\* Bp. Jewel’s *Apology*. p. 66.



mation: *It is amazing, one of the Doctor's Character should not be able to see, that Bishops were (are) capable of sustaining Damage in other Ways besides that of being touched in their private Property.*  
 P. 123.

To what was said on this Subject in the *Appeal defended*, which stands in full Force notwithstanding the Doctor's Attempt to weaken it, I will now add, as worthy of his Attention, the following Considerations. The episcopal Order has Authority, given by Christ, to govern the Church. This Authority extends to all the Members of the Church, the Laity as well as Clergy; but its *immediate* Action or Operation was chiefly intended to take Place upon the Clergy. The Discipline of the Church, so far as the Laity are its immediate Objects, has always been exercised by the parochial Clergy, except in some extraordinary Cases, and not by the Bishops in their own Persons. It appears therefore, that no great Innovation will be the Consequence of our Plan; it being intended only to provide, that no new Discipline over the Laity shall be introduced into America, nor the common Discipline exercised by different Persons, under the proposed Episcopate. And where it is said that the Bishop's 'Authority shall operate only upon the Clergy of the Church, and not upon the Laity;' the Meaning is, that it shall operate only upon the Clergy as its immediate Objects, and that others can have no Reason to dread its Effects. Not that the episcopal Authority over the Laity shall be intirely suspended; for when the parochial Clergy exercise an Authority, given them by the Bishops, and under their Superintendency, it is an Exercise of the Bishop's Authority. What a Bishop



shop does properly and effectually by Means of his subordinate Officers, is his own Act ; and there is no just Room to complain, that the Bishops of the *Appeal* are injured, by being divested of all Authority over the Laity. The Authority given by Christ to Bishops ought always to be exercised in such a Manner, as may best answer its original Intention, of which they are the proper Judges. If the Governors of the Church had not some discretionary Power in Matters of this Nature, in many Cases the Exercise of their Authority would tend more to Destruction than to Edification, and thus defeat its own End.

OBJECTION II. *The Bishops in this Plan are so widely different from the Bishops of the Church of England at home, that it is not reasonable they should be desired or sent*, p. 124. In Answer to this it was said, ‘ the Bishops in this Plan are *essentially* the same with the Bishops at home, how widely soever they may differ in some Circumstances.’ So far as they differ from the Bishops in England, they are *more* adapted to the State of the Colonies, and are proportionably *more* to be *desired* than such Bishops ; the Difference being proposed for this very End, that they may be rendered more desirable in this Country. And I observed to this Objector, in Words that have not escaped his Notice, that ‘ let them be ever so different, if such Bishops as are proposed are fiter for the Colonies, than such Bishops as are in England, and the Doctor will hardly say they are not ; then it may be reasonable that they should be both desired and sent||.’ But behold here, another Curiosity in the Regions of Controversy ! The Doctor replies in these



these remarkable Words : *The plain Answer is, they are not fiter for the Colonies, than---*(than what? I dare say every Reader expects the next Words to be, *such Bishops as are in England.* But no such Matter ; for thus it is in my Copy, than) *for the Mother Country.* See here, in a protestant Divine, an Instance of Jesuitical Sophistry, that is worthy of a FILIUCIUS or an ESCOBAR ! The Bishops proposed were said to be fiter for this Country, than such Bishops as are in England would be ; but they were not said to be fiter for the Colonies than they are for England, although this be undoubtedly the Case. The Proposition that I advanced, this accomplished Disputant was unable to deny ; but in the Place of it he denied a Proposition that I had not advanced, that he might *appear* to contradict me.

UNDER this Branch of the Objection, the Doctor insisted, that it was unreasonable for *a comparative Handful of episcopal Professors* in the Colonies to expect, *that the Powers and Appendages of Bishops should be so mightily abridged* in Favour of them ; when *the Dissenters in England*, and others who desired it, could not obtain this Gratification at home. To this I gave no particular Answer, as the same Point had been already considered, and what had been said was, in my Opinion, a full Answer to it. But WHERE (this was considered) says the Doctor, *he has not told us ; nor can I find that he has any where given such an Answer, or even attempted it,* p. 125. As I frequently find Reason to suspect, that he has never read, with proper Attention, the Pieces he undertakes to refute, I shall not question the Truth of what is here asserted, namely, that he knows not *where* I had  
Y. obviated



obviated the Remark under Consideration. And as I am willing to give him any friendly Assistance he may think himself intitled to ask, I will inform him, that I had Reference in particular to p. 113, preceeding; for the Pertinency and Force of which, I appeal to every Reader, one only excepted.

THE Doctor also complains, that I took no Notice of what he said, concerning the Inconsistency of our Plan with the Doctrine of *Uniformity*, which is, *made so important a Matter in the Church of England*. I assure him, that whatever in his *Answer* I passed by without Notice, was omitted, either from an Opinion that it had been already obviated, or that it did not deserve particular Notice. It was on the latter of these Accounts, that I made no Remarks upon the Passage referred to. And here I will only observe by the Bye, that Uniformity is not more strenuously required by the Church of England, than by every other national Church. An Uniformity of Worship and Doctrine, and even of Discipline in all its *essential* Parts, with what is established in England, will be maintained in the Church of England in the Colonies, under the proposed Episcopate. And as to the Difference in the *Appendages* of our Bishops, it will be no greater than has lately been proved, from the 34th Article---that, in the Opinion of the Church of England, “ Diversity of Countries and Men’s “ Manners” will justify.

It was farther objected, *that if Bishops should be sent to the Colonies, with these restrained Powers* (as mentioned in the Plan) *undesirable Consequences might be naturally feared, both here and at home*. The Consequence to be dreaded here, was said to be,



be, *that the Bishops would throw off this Restraint as soon as might be, &c.* In Answer to this it was observed, that Men's endeavouring to free themselves from Restraint, is no just Reason why they should not be restrained, on proper Occasions. It was also observed, that no Uneasiness under such a Restraint was justly to be apprehended in our American Bishops; for as they will know what to expect before they accept of the Office, there can be no Disappointment. I then proceeded in the following Words, which I beg Leave to transcribe; because I think them a sufficient Answer not only to all that was objected under this Head, but to all the Doctor now says in Support of his Objection. 'Why should they (the American Bishops) be uneasy, because the Bishops at home are invested with civil Authority? The Bishops at home may be as properly uneasy and restless, because they are not, like some of their Order on the Continent of Europe, sovereign Princes. Perhaps the Uneasiness of American Bishops may be supposed to arise from the Reflection, that destitute as they are of civil Power, they are Bishops of the same Church with their Brethren in England. But they will not be able to avoid the farther Reflection, that they are Bishops of the same Church in *different* Countries, and under *different* Circumstances; which essentially alters the Case. And no better Reason can be given, why they should not be contented with less Power than belongs to the Bishops in England, than why the other Bishops in England should not be contented with less Power than belongs to the Bishop of Durham. This same Kind of Reasoning would operate as strongly against episcopal Clergymen in America, as against Bishops. The

Y 2

Clergy



‘ Clergy of the Church of England at home, are,  
 ‘ in a great Measure, supported by Tithes ; there-  
 ‘ fore, it might have been said, at the first Settle-  
 ‘ ment of the Colonies, if Clergymen of the Church  
 ‘ of England are once admitted in this Country,  
 ‘ under whatever Restrictions or Limitations, they  
 ‘ will not be easy, until they shall have secured to  
 ‘ themselves the Tithes of our Estates ¶.”

In Reply to this Illustration, the Doctor says :  
*The Fact here supposed is, I believe, strictly true,  
 that the Clergy of the Church of England will never  
 be easy until they may have secured to themselves  
 from our Estates here, what will be, in substantial  
 Signification, the same Thing with the Tithes in En-  
 gland.* p. 129. I believe that the Clergy, of what-  
 ever Denomination, as well as Men, of whatever  
 Station in Life, will not, and cannot, be easy,  
 without a *competent* Maintenance. And I agree  
 with the Doctor, that a competent Maintenance  
 in one Way, is, *in substantial Signification*, much  
 the same Thing with a competent Maintenance in  
 any other Way. But something seems to be here  
 insinuated, to the peculiar Disadvantage of the  
 episcopal Clergy in the Colonies, as if they were  
 apt to be more restless, uneasy and rapacious, than  
 other Men ; or, at least, than the Clergy of other  
 Denominations. But such an Insinuation is not  
 more illiberal than unjust † ; as I verily believe,  
 from

¶ *Appeal defended.* p. 208, 209.

† To shew that one Ecclesiastic is not always innocent of  
 the Crimes of which he accuses others, and to give a little  
 Relaxation to the Reader, who may be fatigued with travel-  
 ing through so many dry Pages of Controversy, I beg Leave  
 to introduce the following Anecdote. Bilibaldus Pirckhei-  
 merus, the great Friend of Erasmus, in a Company where  
 much



from all that I know of such Matters, that it is intirely groundless. Why then should they be the Objects of any peculiar Jealousy? And why did the Doctor, on my happening to mention them, seize upon the Occasion to give this Evidence of his *brotherly* Affection towards them?

It was pretended that Two *undesireable Consequences* would arise at home, from granting to the Colonies the Episcopate requested. One is, that *vast Numbers* of People there, meaning the Dissenters and disaffected Members of the Church, would *think themselves hardly treated*, when they found such an Episcopate granted to the Americans,

much was said in Commendation of him, took Notice that a certain *Mendicant Monk*, discovered, by his Countenance and Gestures, that he was greatly dissatisfied with the Encomiums that passed. “ And being hard pushed to declare what he  
“ had to censure in Erasmus, he said, that this Man, whom  
“ they affected to extol so much, was a notorious *Eater of*  
“ *Fowls*; and that he knew it to be true, not from the Testimony of others, but of his own Eyes. Did Erasmus buy  
“ them, or steal them? Said Pirckheimer. He bought them,  
“ said the Monk.---But is it then a Sin to eat Fowls? Most  
“ certainly, answered the Monk: It is the Sin of Gluttony;  
“ and it becomes the more heinous, when it is committed  
“ and frequently repeated by Church-Men. Perhaps, said  
“ Pirckheimer, he eats them upon Fast-Days. No, said the  
“ Monk; but we Ecclesiasticks ought to abstain upon all  
“ Days from such Delicacies. Ah, my good Father, said  
“ Pirckheimer, it is not by eating dry Bread, that you have  
“ got that huge Paunch of yours; and if all the Fowls, which  
“ have gone into it, could lift up their Voice at once, and  
“ cackle in Concert, they would make Noise enough to  
“ drown the Drums and Trumpets of an Army *a.*” This, it is hoped, will be as acceptable to the Reader, as the *Story* of my good Friend, the Doctor, about *a Cock and a Bull and Three RAM-CHICKENS with which the Children are sometimes diverted*. See his *Appeal answered*, p. 25, in a Note.

*a* Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*. p. 216.



cans, as has been refused to them. I think them very *hardly treated* by such an Objection as this; wherein they are represented as a Set of peevish and unreasonable People, disposed to behave weakly, absurdly and perversely, and in a Manner grossly unworthy of Men and of Christians. They are here supposed, in the first Place, to prefer such an Episcopate as is proposed for the Colonies, to the Episcopate in England---then, to have applied for such an Episcopate themselves, which has been refused them---and lastly, because they cannot obtain it in England, to be unwilling that the Americans should have it. The Doctor may be better acquainted with the Genius and Disposition of those People than I am; but I can hardly believe such an unfavorable Representation of them to be just, at least, without many Exceptions.

IN making this Objection, I thought my Opponent had forgotten his proper Business and Character; which was to answer the *Appeal*, upon the Principles of the Dissenters in this Country. Now if we may judge of them from their Writers, they would willingly inflame, rather than allay, the Discontent at home with the present ecclesiastical Establishment; and therefore they cannot consistently object, that the Execution of our Plan would increase that Discontent, or, in other Words, produce an Effect which they wish to see. The Doctor says, that I had *injudiciously misplaced this Remark---that had I made it under the former Objection, it would have appeared more plausible.* p. 130. The Remark *here* was proper and pertinent; and by introducing it in this Place, I meant not to confine it to this particular Objection. And I expressly said, that the Doctor mistook his proper Business,

not



not only where it was then pointed out, but IN MANY OTHER PLACES †. The *former Objection* was so glaring an Instance of this Mismanagement, that it was needless to mention it.

NOTWITHSTANDING, the Doctor thinks he had a Right to make Objections upon any Principles, *as Objections of all Kinds were called for*. But who called for *all Kinds* of Objections, in the Latitude wherein he has produced them? *i. e.* For good, bad and indifferent; pertinent and impertinent; consistent and inconsistent; reasonable and unreasonable? I will undertake to answer for the Author of the *Appeal*, that he did not. But if, in Fact, he had made so absurd a Proposal, the Doctor should have had more Discretion than to have accepted of it. But to clear himself partly from the Charge of Inconsistency, he informs us, that he and those who are commonly called *Dissenters*, are in *real Earnest* that the *episcopal Laity* may not be imposed on by their *planning Clergy*---and that the Design of the Objection was *to serve them*. It appears to me that the Account would have been far more just and candid, had he said, that he and his Adherents were in *real Earnest*, to excite, in the Minds of the *episcopal Laity*, a Jealousy, that their Clergy have combined to impose upon and deceive them. For, I believe, it is not so much Friendship to the Laity, as Enmity to the Clergy, that has caused them to be so mightily in *Earnest*. *Their planning Clergy!* How often must this Objector be told, that the Episcopate in Question was never *planned* by the American Clergy? It was shewn in the *Appeal*, that it was planned by others; and that the Plan is no otherwise ours, than as we have

† *Appeal defended*. p. 209.



we have adopted it, and are desirous of promoting it. But what is worst of all, he says it was *a Scheme they had contrived* FOR THEIR OWN SAKES. They must have been wretched *Contrivers*, if in forming *a Scheme for their own Sakes*, they could project no other Advantage to themselves, than that of being more strictly governed, and the Doctor's PRIVILEGE *of being punished* when they do amiss. That the Clergy have been influenced by mercenary Motives, in their Application for Bishops, is as groundless and unjust a Reproach as Malice can invent. If ever a *disinterested* and benevolent Resolution was formed by any Body of Men; this of our Clergy, to solicit and promote an Episcopate, calculated to bring themselves under Restraint, without the least Prospect of personal Advantage, and with a View only to the Interest of Religion, is fairly intitled to this glorious Character. The whole Plan is laid before the Public; let the Public judge of it, and say---whether the Ease, or the Wealth, or Authority of the Clergy, can be the Object in View. Jealousy, Envy, and a gloomy Tribe of malevolent Passions, are always ready to entertain unfavorable Suspicions; but the Suspicion, in this Case, has not the least Appearance of Evidence to support it. The Clergy therefore, conscious of the Rectitude of their Aims, will be neither deterred nor disconcerted by any Abuses they may receive from the Enemies of the Church; but they will steadily pursue, and persevere in pursuing, what they judge to be their Duty with Regard to an Episcopate, through evil Report and good Report.

In dealing with one Branch of this general Objection, I expressed what I took to be the Sense of  
it



it in my own Words; in which I did no other Harm, than to exprefs it in stronger Terms than were used by the Doctor. In speaking of the Dissenters at home, he said they would *think themselves hardly treated*; this I expressed by their being *clamorous*, substituting *noisy Words* for *hard Thoughts*, which was no great Disadvantage to his Argument. However, he says, and in Strictness of Speech it is true, that *it was not mentioned as an Objection that Dissenters at home would 'grow more clamorous in Consequence of the Settlement of the 'proposed Episcopate.'* But he is also of Opinion, that there was no *just Foundation* for my substituting the Word *clamorous*; and that there is a *wide Difference* between the Dissenters being *clamorous*, and their *thinking themselves hardly treated*. The two Things, it is confessed, are different in themselves, and in some Cases should be carefully distinguished; but it appears from the History of the English Dissenters, that *with them* there is such a close Connection between their thinking themselves hardly treated, and their being *clamorous*, that mistaking the former for the latter is very excusable. I speak not of Individuals; there are undoubtedly many among them of amiable and excellent Characters; who are mild, gentle and peaceable; and who would suffer much, before they would make any public Disturbance, or act any Way disrespectfully towards Government. But hitherto, this has not been the *general* Character of the Party.

WHAT was absurdly put into the Mouth of the Dissenters, I allowed that some others might consistently say; and for their Satisfaction, I thought it sufficient to refer them to what had been offered



‘ to this Purpose---viz. That such an Episcopate  
 ‘ might be erected here with ease ; but it cannot  
 ‘ be effected in England, without subverting an  
 ‘ Establishment, and making a very visible Altera-  
 ‘ tion in the national Constitution---a Work never  
 ‘ to be undertaken but in the greatest Extremity,  
 ‘ and even then, not without a trembling Hand.’  
 The Doctor tells us, all this is a Mistake. *The  
 proposed Episcopate could not be erected here with that  
 Ease that is insinuated.* But certainly it can be  
 erected here with Ease, in a comparative Sense ;  
*i. e.* with less Difficulty than would attend the Set-  
 tlement of an Episcopate in any other Form. It  
 will meet with no Opposition from the Friends and  
 Members of the Church ; and as to Opposition  
 from those who have no Concern with it, it is un-  
 reasonable and pragmatical, and not to be regarded.

AND as ‘ to subverting an Establishment,’ and  
 making ‘ a visible Alteration in the national Consti-  
 ‘ tution,’ the Doctor sees no Difficulty in the Mat-  
 ter---it is one of the easiest Things in Nature.  
 Some People may think the Subversion of the na-  
 tional Establishment to be a *good* Work, and per-  
 haps a *pleasant* Work ; but I believe this Writer  
 is singular in thinking it an *easy* Work. It is sur-  
 prising, that he has not seen enough with his own  
 Eyes, to convince him of the Grossness of this  
 Mistake. Has he never known of Attempts to  
 introduce Innovations in *small* Matters, where Re-  
 ligion was thought to be concerned, that have been  
 attended with violent Contests, and have ended in  
 incurable Schisms ? Has he never heard of Con-  
 gregations that have been torn in Pieces, by the  
 Endeavors of some, to substitute a new and better  
 Version of the Psalms, for Instance, in the Place  
 of



of an old one? And does he think that a general religious Establishment, to which the greater Part of the Nation is firmly attached, will be given up with more Ease, than a single Congregation can be persuaded to part with, or exchange, a Matter of but trifling Consequence? It seems to be almost impossible that he can be serious, when he talks at this Rate. He concludes this labored Paragraph with telling the Public, that he thinks it high Time, that the national Constitution should be new-modelled: And if he could find a sufficient Party to support him, I doubt not but he would undertake the Work *himself*, without so much as ‘a trembling Hand,’ and that immediately, without a Moment’s Hesitation or Delay; for, says he, *the sooner the better.* p. 132, 133.

THE other ill Consequence to be dreaded at home, I will lay before the Reader in the Doctor’s Words, as he thinks I did not fairly represent it, when I undertook to express it in Words of my own. *It can scarce be supposed, says he, it should escape the Thought of our English Bishops, that the Settlement of such an Episcopate in America, as is proposed, may prepare the Way for such a Change in the Power of Bishops at home, as they would not be very fond of.* To the Objection thus expressed, it is a sufficient Answer to say---that the Bishops at home universally approve of the Plan†---that they have considered it in every Light, and viewed it in all its probable Consequences---and, that they

Z 2

are,

† The late Archbishop of Canterbury was of Opinion that  
 “there scarce ever was a Bishop of the Church of England,  
 “from the Revolution to this Day, that hath not desired  
 “the Establishment of Bishops in our Colonies,” upon  
 much the same Plan with that under Consideration.

*Let. to Walpole. p. 9.*



are, in Fact, under no Apprehensions on this Account. But, on the other Hand, they would have just Cause to be uneasy, should the proposed American Episcopate not be granted; as there would be Reason to suspect, that such a Refusal proceeded from *Hatred* to the episcopal Order itself---a Hatred, which in Time might overthrow them and the Church of England together, as it once did.

OBJECTION III. *The Church of England knows no such Bishops as are specified in the Plan, nor can they, in Consistency with its Constitution, be sent to the Colonies.* p. 134. To this I gave no particular Answer before, as I conceived that what had been offered on the Subject of the King's Supremacy, from which the Inconsistency was infered, was a full Refutation of the Objection, and of all that was said to support it. But the Doctor will not be satisfied, without a particular Answer. Let it then be observed, that what the Church of England allows of and has provided for, it not inconsistent with her *Constitution*, and what She has experienced, She may be properly said to know :---But, *such Bishops as are specified in this Plan*, She allows of, has provided for, and experienced :---Therefore, such Bishops are consistent with her Constitution, and She is no Stranger to them. The *minor* Proposition is thus proved. The Bishops of our Plan are, and were originally called, *Suffragan* Bishops :--Suffragan Bishops are consistent with the Constitution of the Church of England :---Therefore, the Bishops of our Plan are consistent with her Constitution. The Act of 26 *Henry VIII*, Cap. 14, to which the Bishops consented, makes Provision for Suffragans in the Church of England. Such  
Bishops



Bishops were frequently appointed, during the whole Reigns of *Edward VI*, and *Queen Elizabeth* †. They are mentioned in the *Canons* that were framed in the Reign of *King James*, as belonging to the Church, and were continued some Years afterwards: For in 1606, it appears that Dr. Stern, then Suffragan Bishop of Colchester, was suspended, for some Irregularity of Conduct. After the Restoration, the Bishops, in Answer to some Proposals made by the Presbyterian Divines, say, in Words which are recommended to the Doctor's particular Notice, on more Accounts than one: "We cannot grant the Extent of any Diocess is so great, but that a Bishop may well perform his Duty, which is *not a personal Inspection* of every Man's Soul, but the pastoral Charge, or taking Care that the Ministers, or other ecclesiastical Officers within their Diocess, do their Duties; and if some Diocesses should be too large, *the Law allows of Suffragans* †." The Law equally allows of Suffragans at this Day §. It is evident therefore, that the Bishops of our Plan are consistent with the Constitution of the Church of England; and it is farther evident, that the Doctor, in talking of these Matters, betrays his Ignorance, "understanding neither what he says, nor whereof he affirms."

HE chooses *here* to introduce the Subject of the King's Supremacy, although the Consideration of it more properly belonged to another Place. He brings it in here, because it will swell this Part of his Performance

† See Strype's *Memorials* of Cranmer, and Wharton's *Observations* on D<sup>o</sup>. *passim*.

† Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*. Vol. IV. p. 237.

§ See Gibson's *Codex*. p. 157.



Performance, wherein he professes more immediately to attack the Episcopate in Question. For by such a *Manœuvre* the unwary Reader may be led to think, from the Number of Pages in this Section, that the Doctor has said much in direct Opposition to the proposed Episcopate; while, in Reality, he has said but very little that is pertinent to the Subject.

He had objected, that, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, all ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is derived from the Crown; that as to Authority purely ecclesiastical, there is no such Thing in the Church of England; and consequently, that the Bishops of the *Appeal*, who are described as having such an Authority as ‘is altogether derived from the Church, and not from the State,’ cannot be Bishops of, nor be sent by, the Church of England to America. This occasioned me to consider the Subject largely, and to make a particular Examination whether his Assertion were true. And to prove that he was mistaken, I produced a Variety of most authentic Evidence; particularly, the Explanation of *Henry VIII*, to the Convocation of the Province of York, the Words of the Letters Patent granted by *Edward VI*, Queen *Elizabeth*’s INJUNCTIONS, and the 37th Article---with a brief historical Account of the Occasion, and Operation, of these several Declarations and Writings. And it was made abundantly evident, that the Supremacy claimed by our Princes, given them by the Constitution, and maintained by the Church of England, allows to our Bishops a purely spiritual or ecclesiastical Authority, which is derived, not from the Crown, but from Christ himself.



THE Doctor says but very little to invalidate the Force of this Evidence. He says that *all* I attempted to prove is ONLY *this, that, notwithstanding the King's Supremacy, it is from Christ, not the King, that the Authority of the Bishops, as such, in the Church of England, is conveyed to them.* p. 137. This is *all* that I had Occasion to prove; and the Proof that I made, is sufficient to overthrow one of the main Pillars that supported his Opposition to the Episcopate requested. Notwithstanding, he affects to think very differently of the Matter. *It is, to me,* says he, *beyond all Doubt, that his (the Author's) Labor on this Head is altogether vain.* This is easily said in any Case; but his Manner of saying it in this Place, is justly suspicious. Here is a capital Point disputed between us; I had taken more than common Pains to place it in a proper Light, and to convince the Doctor of his Mistake; and his Reply is, that he thinks my *Labor is vain.* So far as *his* Conviction was the Object, I may probably have labored without Effect; however, I have this Satisfaction, that although he is not convinced, he is in a Manner silenced. For he only repeats, and insists upon, the Words of the Statute, where all Manner of Jurisdiction is said to flow from the Crown, &c. and refers to Dr. Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, for the several Acts of Parliament relating to the Subject. p. 138. What was meant by that, and such like Expressions, was explained in the *Appeal defended*; and it was shewn that this Language was consistent with the Doctrine and Belief of *purely spiritual* Power in the Church, in its strictest Sense. It were easy to support, by innumerable Authorities, what I advanced upon the Subject; but against Dr. Chauncy it needs no Support. I fear not but it  
will



will stand forever, by its own Strength, notwithstanding all the Attempts he may make against it.

*SHOULD it be supposed, says he, not granted, that the Authority of Bishops does not flow from the Crown, but from the Church, which is the utmost the Doctor has endeavoured to prove, it will not follow from hence, that he has answered, or so much as attempted to answer 'all that is said in Support' of the Objection in Debate. But should it be supposed, not granted, that this is not an Answer to all that was said in Support of the Objection, yet enough for the Purpose had been said in other Places; and the Reader was referred to what had been said relating to the Subject in general, without being limited to any particular Passage.*

WHAT was said to support the Objection, cannot be answered, says the Doctor, until it is shewn, *how that Authority is altogether from the Church, and not from the State, which can be exercised, neither in the Affair of Worship, Ordination, Government or Discipline, but by and under the Guidance, Controul, and sovereignly prescribed Order, not of the Church, but of the State.* p. 139. But this was shewn too, and illustrated, in the *Appeal defended*, p. 55; and in such a Manner, as, I doubt not, will be allowed by the impartial to be satisfactory and convincing. The Origin of any Power is one Thing, and the Regulation or Obstruction of the Exercise of that Power is another. The Doctor himself claims an ecclesiastical Authority, originally derived from Christ; but the Exercise of it is, in some Respects, regulated by the Laws of his Country. And had it a more particular Direction from the Government than it now has, it would still



still be the same, as to its Nature and Origin, as it now is. So plain a Case has but little Need of Illustration; however, with this View, I considered one particular Branch of ecclesiastical Authority, the Power to baptize. This Power is generally esteemed to be purely ecclesiastical, and not derived by a Commission from the State; and yet in common it cannot be exercised by a Clergyman, without the Approbation and Consent of other Persons. But such Approbation alters not the Nature of the Power, nor is it the Source from whence it is derived; any more than my Consent and Submission to the Operation of a Surgeon, is the Cause of the Skill with which he performs it. In like Manner, the episcopal Authority may be altogether from the Church, and not from the State; and yet it may be guided and controlled by the State; without losing its Nature or essential Character. If the Consent of the King or the State is necessary, in Order to a Bishop's coming over to America, so is the Consent of the Master of the Ship in which he comes over; and the former does not change the Nature of his Office or of his Authority, any more than the latter. I shall now pass on to

OBJECTION IV. *We are in Principle against all Establishments in Religion; and as we do not desire any such Establishment in Support of our own religious Sentiments or Practice, we cannot reasonably be blamed, if we are not disposed to encourage one in Favor of the episcopal Colonists.* p. 140. It requires almost the Patience of a Job, to deal with such an Objector. He argues against the Episcopate of the *Appeal*, which asks only for a *Toleration*, because he would not encourage an *Establishment*; and he may as well object against Things that

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are strait, because he approves not of Things that are crooked.

As to his *desiring* no Establishment in Favour of his own religious Sentiments, I am persuaded that he says it in a *qualified Sense*; especially as he undertakes to express the general Opinion of the Congregationalists in New-England. For that they had generally become, *in Principle, against all Establishments in Religion*, in the common Extent of the Expression, was a Piece of Intelligence for which I was beholden to the Doctor. For, as I told him, I was in Possession of certain historical Accounts and Anecdotes (since which Time I have collected more, and of a fresher Date) from which one would naturally infer the contrary. However, supposing the Representation to be just, it may be proper so observe here, that so far as the Doctor and his Friends are against Establishments, they are *Deserters* from the Principles of their Ancestors, the first Settlers of New-England; who were not only, *in Principle*, for an Establishment of their own Mode of Religion, but for an Establishment without a Toleration. This Doctrine they received from the Puritans, who aimed at nothing less than such an Establishment in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, as was shewn from Bishop Maddox. The Doctor denies this; and says that the Puritans are *herein injuriously misrepresented* by Maddox. But if so, they are misrepresented by all our Historians, and even by their own Writings; and I could easily prove, from Neal's History of them, as much as is here asserted.

UPON this the Doctor is all on Fire, and his Indignation flashes out in the following Language.  
He



*He* (meaning the hapless Author) *must not take it amiss, if I tell him, that we are not surprized at his endeavoring to uncover the Nakedness of his Ancestors, as he is a DESERTER from that GREAT CAUSE which brought them over to this then desolate Land: Nor is it beyond what we expected, to find him, and many of the Society's Missionaries, who are either Profelytes themselves, or the Sons of Profelytes, fired with extraordinary Zeal in propagating High-Church Principles. This has all along been the Way, on this Side [of] the Atlantic, in which Converts to the Church, especially clerical ones, have endeavoured to give Proof of the Sincerity of their Conversion.* p. 141. Are all then, that mention the Bigotry and Intolerance of the first Settlers of New-England, to be charged with endeavoring to *uncover their Nakedness*? This will bear hard upon some of the most respectable Characters among their Descendants. For my Part, I wish that their Nakedness could be concealed, from a Regard both to their Honor, and that of their Posterity; but, in Truth, neither the Doctor, nor his Friends, will be able to find a Cloak large enough to cover it, in such a Manner, that “the Shame of their “Nakedness” (in this Part) “do not appear.”

As to *deserting the great Cause that brought them over to America*; if the whole of their religious System be here meant, Dr. Chauncy himself (if ‘certain historical Accounts and Anecdotes’ may be credited) must be reckoned among the *Deserters*, in several Respects. In one Respect at least, the Words of this Objection make it evident, that he is a *Deserter* from them. I do not indeed always look upon such Conduct to be criminal; but he charges it upon me as a Crime: And therefore



while he exemplifies it himself, he is condemned from his own Mouth---a much severer Condemnation, than what proceeds from an Enemy. According to my Way of thinking, the Doctor and I are under no greater Obligations to maintain all the religious Principles of our puritanical Ancestors, than the Puritans themselves were, to adhere to all the Principles of their Popish Ancestors. I do not mean to insinuate any Comparifon between the Puritans and Papists; nor to be wanting in any due Respect to the first Settlers of New-England. For it gives me Pleasure to say, that I think they were, in general, Men of more Reputation, more Religion, and more Learning, than the original Settlers of new Colonies commonly are. But an undistinguifhing Fondness for all their Sentiments, and, in particular, a Justification of their intolerant Spirit, are no Parts of that Respect which is due to them, from the Friends of religious Liberty, although their Descendants.

WHAT is here said of the Society's Missionaries, who are either *Profelytes*, or the *Sons of Profelytes*, from Congregationalism, is too general a Charge to admit of a particular Reply. It seems to have been dictated by a Spirit of Resentment, occasioned by their Success in propagating the true Principles of the Church of England, invidiously and illiberally styled *High-Church*; in which, it has by no Means been yet made to appear, that they have generally used unjustifiable Methods. Their Zeal for the peculiar Doctrines of the Church, may sometimes have been excessive; but when this could justly be said, it may have been occasioned by the unreasonable Opposition they met with, in the Discharge of their proper Duty. However,



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However, *we are not surprised---nor is it beyond what we expected, to find*, that the Missionaries, who have been *profelyted*, or are the *Sons of Profelytes*, to the Church of England; are severely censured, by so *strict an Adherer to*, as well as so zealous a Defender of, the *great Cause* of his Ancestors, as Dr. Chauncy.

As ‘the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Calvinists in Geneva, Holland and other Places, have always been Friends to religious Establishments;’ I thought a full and particular Evidence was necessary in Order to convince us, that the Presbyterians or Calvinists in New-England have adopted a different Principle. For the more incredible a Fact is, the stronger Evidence is required, in Order to prove it. Dr. Priestley is of Opinion, that all Denominations of Protestants, except one, are fond of Establishments in their own Favor---and of something more, viz. Of depressing all other Sects. “This I own,” says he (namely Confidence in their Moderation) “is more than I could promise myself from any other Body of Christians whatever” (viz. Than the Quakers) “the *Presbyterians by no Means excepted\**.” Accordingly he says, in another Treatise: “If I were to pray for the general Prevalence of any one Sect of Christians, it should be that of the Quakers; because, different as my Opinions are from theirs, I have so much Confidence in their Moderation, that I believe they would let me live, write and publish what I pleased unmolested among them.” (I suppose the Church of England does not suffer Dr. Priestley *to live, write and publish what he pleases*, without Molestation.)

\* *Essay on the first Principles of Government.* p. 187.



tion.) “ And this I own, is more than I could  
 “ promise myself from any other Body of Christi-  
 “ ans, whatever ; *the Presbyterians perhaps* (N. B.)  
 “ LEAST OF ALL *excepted* †.” The Congregationalists in New-England therefore, in the Opinion of this Writer, must, with Regard to Establishments and the Exercise of Power, differ from all other Denominations of Protestants, the Quakers excepted, and from the Presbyterians *perhaps most of all*, if the Doctor’s Account may be credited : And how compleatly they have adopted the mild and tolerant Principles of the Quakers, the Quakers and Baptists in New-England know by Experience, and the Public has been lately told. It is a Pity that Dr. Priestley had not heard of this great Revolution in the religious System of New-England ; for then he would not, on so fair an Occasion, have neglected to render it all due Honor.

DR. Chauncy still affects to be terrified with an Apprehension, that the proposed Episcopate will establish the Church of England in the Colonies. I had asked, ‘ Does this Plan propose the Establishment of the Church ?’ He answers : *It undoubtedly does.* I also asked : ‘ Will the Execution of it imply, or amount to, any such Thing ?’ His Answer is ready : *Yes ; or it can never be carried into Execution (i. e. the Execution can never be carried into Execution.)* To shew that no such Thing was intended or implied in the Plan, I held it up once more to public View ; asking, of the whole, and of all its material Parts, whether there was any Appearance of an Establishment. An Answer is not wanting : *Surely, says he, the Doctor could not but know, before he asked these Questions, that*

† *Essay on a Course of liberal Education.*



*that it was only asking, whether we thought there was any Weight, or Force, in the produced Objection.* p. 142. I still insist upon the Propriety of the Questions. To decide whether the Plan mentioned or implied an Establishment or not, it was proper to refer to the Plan itself; that the Reader might see with his own Eyes, whether there was any such Thing:---In the same Manner, that, if a Person should affirm to me that the Sun was not risen, when I knew that it was visibly above the Horizon, I should point to the Body of the Sun, and ask if he did not see it.

My logical Opponent proceeds, expressing his Surprise: *How unaccountable is it, that he could imagine, that he had said any Thing to the Purpose, by BARELY putting these Questions! They are really nothing more than so many strongly expressed Affirmations; and will he call this arguing?* The putting proper Questions, may be saying something to the Purpose, especially when they have the Force of *strongly expressed Affirmations*. Every Affirmation is a Proposition; and Propositions that are pertinent to the Business in hand, and duly methodized and arranged, may justly be called *arguing*. The Questions appear to me to have been pertinent, and I conceive that I acted with no Impropriety in the Case. At least, the Doctor has made none appear, nor has he attempted to invalidate what was offered directly to the Point, any farther than in the Words I have quoted. But were he able to prove, that an Establishment would be the Consequence of executing our Plan, which he cannot do in any Sense; yet, unless it were such an Establishment as would tend to abridge the Liberties, or interfere with the Rights, of some of his Majesty's



Majesty's Subjects in the Colonies, it would be unreasonable to make it an Objection. It is possible, at least in Theory, that there may be an Establishment of one Religion, without any ill Consequences to the Professors of other Religions. Mr. Neal says :  
 “ The King may create Dignitaries, and give sufficient Encouragement to those of the public Religion, without invading the Liberties of his dissenting Subjects. If religious Establishments were stript of their *judicial Processes*, and *civil Jurisdiction*, no Harm could be feared from them \*.” Now the Bishops proposed, whether established or unestablished, are to carry on no judicial Processes, but against the episcopal Clergy, and are not to have the least Shadow of civil Jurisdiction ; and therefore, according to Mr. Neal, and according to common Sense, no Harm can justly be feared from them, by *Dissenters* of any Denomination.

THE DOCTOR had affirmed that there is no Evidence, *that Christ has intrusted the State with a Right to make religious Establishments* ; and argued, that if England had such a Right, so had China, Turkey, &c. the Consequence of which he imagined, would, upon the whole, be more injurious than beneficial ; and *therefore*, that States had no such Right. To shew the Weakness of this Argument, I applied it to the Right of private Judgment ; and made it evident, that all he said against Establishments, might as properly be urged against Men's Right to think and judge for themselves. To this he replies : *Surely the Doctor does not believe, that the Right of States to make religious Establishments, is as clearly and indubitably a Grant from God,*

\* Hist. of the Puritans. Vol. IV. Pref. x.



*God, as the Right of private Judgment.* p. 144. But indeed I do believe, that God has given to States the Right in Question, *as clearly and indubitably*, as he has given to Men the Right of private Judgment. But be this as it may ; the Doctor's Argument will conclude as strongly against the Right of private Judgment, as against the Right of States to make Establishments. For if the ill Consequences arising from the Abuse of a Thing, invalidate the Right to make a proper Use of it, then such ill Consequences may destroy all Rights whatever. Establishments, without a Toleration of Dissenters, are intirely out of the Question : I never contended for such Establishments, nor do I think that States have a Right to make them. But that they are authorised to make Establishments, that do not violate the private Rights of Conscience, is as clear to me, as any Proposition relating to civil Society. For it means no more than this, that the Magistrate has a Right to give some peculiar Countenance and Encouragement, to what he esteems to be the true Religion ; or, in other Words, that a Christian Magistrate has a Right to shew more Favour to the Christian Religion, than to Mahometism or Heathenism. And I will venture to add, that he has a Right to shew *as much* Favour to his Religion, as is necessary to support it, and is consistent with a full and free Toleration.

AND if only such a Right had been claimed, and exercised properly, in China, Turkey, or in any, or all the Kingdoms of the Earth ; there would have been but little Reason to complain of any ill Consequences. It is better that almost any Religion should be supported, than that there should be no Religion in a Nation ; and such a Support



as is contended for, would still leave to those of righter Judgment than the Magistrate, the Liberty of acting according to it. The Doctor speaks of CHRIST's not having *intrusted the State* with a Right to make Establishments ; not adverting to the Impropriety of such Language. It was never pretended that this Right was given by Christ. The Authority he exercised was altogether of a spiritual Nature. He never interfered with the Rights of States, either to abridge or enlarge them ; and the Rights of Kingdoms and States, before the Gospel, were exactly the same that they now are, under the Gospel. He gave not the Right of private Judgment, for he found Men already in Possession of it. He only directed them in the Use of it ; and their being liable to err in the Exercise of it, is no Argument against the Existence of the Right. In like Manner, the Fallibility of the State, and its being liable, in Consequence of Mistakes, to make wrong Establishments, proves not that it has no just Authority to make right ones.

OBJECTION V. *The Church of England in the Colonies, in its comparative low State, instead of an Episcopate upon this or any other Plan, needs rather the charitable Assistance of its Friends to support its present Ministers, and others that are still wanted,* p. 145. To this it was answered, that the Church of England, in several of the Colonies, is not in that *comparative low State* here spoken of ; but is able to maintain its Clergy, and actually does maintain them, as liberally, as they are maintained in any Part of the British Dominions. This may properly be said of a considerable Majority of the Episcopal Clergy in the Colonies ; and therefore, with



with Regard to them, the Objection is not only weak, but utterly impertinent.

THE Doctor replies, that he had no Reference to the southern Colonies, *for this very good Reason, because it did not appear, that the Church of England in any of these Colonies had complained for Want of Bishops, or were disposed to petition for them*, p. 146. But the Petitions from hence, were in Behalf of the Church in those Colonies, as well as in these; and although we were not authorised by the southern Colonies to petition in their Names, nor did we pretend to such a Commission, yet we had a Right to mention them, on the Occasion, as equally suffering for Want of an Episcopate. The *Appeal* was made, 'in Behalf of the Church of England,' not only in the northern Colonies, but 'in America;' and this Objector had no Right to consider the proposed Episcopate in a partial View, when the Design of it, and the Want of it, were known to be general, extending to all the Colonies within the British American Dominions.

If the Clergy in some of the Colonies had not yet petitioned for an Episcopate, yet as the Circumstances of those Colonies equally required it, it was proper to include them in the Representation, that was intended to shew the general Want of an Episcopate. I hope Men may sometimes be considered as needing Assistance, especially of a religious Kind, before they formally request it. But since the Doctor looks upon the actual petitioning of the Clergy in *all* the Colonies, as of so much Consequence to the Cause of a general Episcopate; I can now give him the Pleasure of hearing, that the Clergy in Maryland have, some Time since,

B. b. 2. generally



generally united in petitioning the King, the Bishops, &c. in Favour of the Episcopate proposed; and that their Petitions have expressed as much Earnestness in the Cause, as those of our northern Conventions. And in a short Time, I doubt not but I shall be able to give him the farther Pleasure of hearing, that the Clergy of the few remaining Colonies have petitioned to the same Purpose. I trust he will take due Notice of this, and shape his future Objections accordingly.

I observed to him also, in Answer to the Objection, that ‘supposing the Church throughout the Colonies needed the charitable Assistance of its Friends to support its Ministers, yet this would be no Proof that it does not need also an Episcopate.’ His Reply is, that notwithstanding, *it would fully prove, that the episcopal Clergy, in the Colonies, are boundless in their Desires of Charity.* And he seems to be well satisfied, that, although his Argument fails of proving what it was alledged for, yet it will luckily prove something else. I would not rob him of any well-grounded Satisfaction; but I must take the Liberty to observe, that what has been said by him does not yet prove, that the Desires of the Clergy are more boundless than the Necessities of the Church.

THE Doctor had urged that the Money, by which an Episcopate must be supported, might be much more usefully expended in supporting Missionaries in *Carolina* (I suppose he meant North-Carolina) where *the religious State of Things, by all Accounts, is deplorably sad.* In Answer to this, I thought proper to observe as follows: ‘When other Ends are to be answered (alluding to an Expression



‘ Expression of his own) the Writers against the  
 ‘ Church can tell us, that the Society have no  
 ‘ Power to apply their Funds to other Uses, than  
 ‘ were intended by the Donors.---But *now an Epif-*  
 ‘ *copate is in View*, it is thought reasonable and  
 ‘ just that the Society should alienate a Fund, more  
 ‘ strictly appropriated to a particular Use than any  
 ‘ other in their Power (for this may be truly said  
 ‘ of the Fund for the Support of American Bi-  
 ‘ shops) and expend it upon Missionaries to be  
 ‘ sent to Carolina, and other Places, provided  
 ‘ always, that such Places be at a due Distance  
 ‘ from New-England\*.’ The Doctor calls this a  
*strange Remark*; and he affirms, that *not a Word*  
*was said of the Fund appropriated for the Support*  
*of American Bishops, or of the Society’s expending one*  
*Farthling of this Fund to [for] other Uses than were*  
*intended by the Donors*, p. 147. But how can that  
 Money, which is designed for the Support of Bi-  
 shops, be expended in maintaining Missionaries,  
 without taking it from the appropriated episcopal  
 Fund, in which alone is deposited all that is known  
 to have been thus intended? This would be, to  
 apply to one Use, what was particularly given for  
 another. The episcopal Fund consists of Legacies,  
 and the Monies arising from them by Interest,  
 given for the sole Purpose of maintaining American  
 Bishops; and the Trustees of these Legacies, I  
 humbly conceive, have no Right to apply them  
 to any other Use, than that for which they were  
 intended, and to which they were limited, by the  
 several Testators.

BUT the Doctor, who can best explain his own  
 Meaning, now pleads, that he was apprehensive  
 the

\* *Appeal defended*, p. 215.



the Society might take from the common Fund, to make up any Deficiency in the episcopal Fund; and by that Means, the Support of an Episcopate would lessen the Number of Missionaries, which the Reader knows, he always wishes should be encreased. If *this, and this only, is what he had in View*, I mistook his Meaning; and the Answer I gave was founded on a Mistake. But upon reviewing the Passage in his former Pamphlet, I find that the Mistake was not my Fault but his; as I am still unable to make any other Inference from his Expressions, as they there stand.

AND here he thinks proper to ask my *Opinion*, whether the Society might not consistently *with Fidelity to their Trust*, make Use of such a Liberty, and apply Part of their common Fund to the Support of an Episcopate. It is not my Province to prescribe to that wise and venerable Body; but if I may express my Opinion, it is clearly this---that, as they are known to have a Fund that is appropriated to the Purpose of an American Episcopate, whatever is not particularly given to that Fund, is not intended for that Use, and the Society have *no Right* to employ it in that Service. I can also declare, that I have sufficient Reason to believe, that no Members of the Society have ever intended or proposed, that Money should be taken from their common Fund for the Support of an Episcopate in the Colonies.

THE Doctor says, that if I had *looked within*, he can *scarce think* that my Conscience would have *suffered* me to *insinuate*, that he *spake of Missions in Carolina, because at* 'a due Distance from New-England.' p. 148. I confess it was not by looking  
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ing *within*, but *without*, that I was led to suspect, that he was fonder of Missionaries at the Distance of Carolina, than in his own Neighbourhood. If he will declare to the contrary, I will acknowledge that I have been mistaken. It has often struck me, in reading the various Productions of the anti-episcopal Writers in New-England, from the Letter of the *Hampshire Ministers* to the Bishop of London in 1734, with Dr. Coleman's Letter that accompanied it, down to Dr. Chauncy's last Publication\*, that they were all very uneasy at the Neighbourhood of the Missionaries, and very ingenious at contriving Employment for them at a Distance. They speak of the episcopal Clergy as their Enemies; and it is natural for every Man to choose that his Enemies should be 'at a due Distance,' rather than within Reach of his Person. I think therefore, upon the whole, that it was no unnatural Conclusion, that those Writers (not excluding Dr. Chauncy) were desirous that the Missionaries should be employed as far from New-England as possible.

*It is the real Truth of Fact*, says the Doctor, *to whatever Cause it may be owing, that they (the Society) have employed few Missionaries, next to none, in [North] Carolina, where they were most needed, and multiplied them where there was little, if any Need at all of them; and in some Places they have supported, and are still supporting them, where the Churches to whom [which] they minister, are abundantly*

\* By Doctor Chauncy's last Publication is here meant, his *Reply to the Appeal defended*, and not his REVENGE SERMON, preached May 30th, 1770; which spared the Missionaries, as it had a more important Object in View. The apparent Design of it was, farther to *inflame* the Minds, of an inflamed Populace AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.



*abundantly able, without any Assistance from them, to support the Gospel.* p. 149. As to North-Carolina, it is confessed that there never have been so many Clergymen there as were needed ; but it does not appear that this was owing to any Inattention or Neglect of the Society. The Society's Fund is not an inexhaustible Treasure, enabling them to supply the Wants of all People in the Colonies. As they have never been able to gratify all the Petitioners for their Favour, it has been their Study to give the Preference where it was due. Those Congregations which discover the greatest Willingness to exert themselves towards the Support of their Ministers, the greatest Desire to obtain the Society's Favour, and the best Disposition to improve by it, provided they appear at the same Time to be unable to raise a sufficient Support themselves, must naturally be thought by the Society to be the properest Objects of their Charity. A Fund that is insufficient to answer all Necessities for which it is wanted, must be carefully husbanded, that it may go as far as possible. Now it is evident that the Society may do all that is needful to support Two Missions, where the People will be equal Contributors with them, at the same Expence that would be necessary for the Support of one Mission, where the People are unable, or unwilling, to contribute ; to say nothing of the greater Prospect of Success, in a Mission of one Sort than of the other. This accounts for the Multiplication of Missions in the Northern Colonies, beyond the Proportion that has obtained in North-Carolina ; where the People made no Offers, and used no Importunities, that could stand in Competition with those that went home from these Colonies. To this may be added, that pro-  
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per Persons could seldom be found, that were willing to enter upon Missions in North-Carolina. The Climate and the Circumstances of that Colony, are generally esteemed by *Strangers* to be disagreeable; and for Want of an Opportunity for an academical Education, but few of the *Natives* have offered themselves as Candidates for holy Orders. Yet notwithstanding these Disadvantages, the Society have, for more than 30 Years past, found out Methods of sending some Missionaries thither; and it appears by the last *Abstract*, that they have now no less than *Twelve* Missionaries employed in that Colony. And while Strangers may wonder that they have done so little, those that are acquainted with their History and Circumstances, wonder that they have been able to do so much, as in Reality they have done, in North-Carolina.

BUT the Misrepresentation goes still farther. It makes the Society to have *multiplied* Missionaries, *where there was little if any Need at all of them*; while they have neglected those Places where they were most needed. The Doctor undoubtedly thinks that there can be but *little, if any Need at all* of Missionaries, in those Places where there are Preachers of the presbyterian or congregational Class: But it is happy for the Members of the Church of England in these Colonies, that the Society govern themselves by their own Opinion, and not by his. However, in one Sense at least, what he says but two Pages afterwards, is a full Justification of the Society's Conduct, with Regard to New-England. For he asserts that the Missions there, *are, by far the greater Part of them, in so weak and low a State, that there would be no Hope of their continued Existence, if that Charity was*  
C c *withdrawn,*



*withdrawn, which, at first, gave Being to them, and has all along supported them in Being.* p. 131. The Society, it is hoped, will make a proper Use of this Information, which corresponds with the Accounts from the Missionaries: And it is not doubted but their Affection for the Churches to which they have *given Being*, and which are known still to depend upon them for the necessary Support of it, will strongly plead in Favour of them, and prevent their being deserted, in this dependent, feeble State. In Time these Churches may become able to support themselves; and when this shall be the Case, they will cease to be proper Objects of the Society's Charity. Whenever the episcopal Congregations in New-England shall appear to have arrived to that State, we may judge what the Society will do, from what they have done, in a like Case.

In South-Carolina, the Society were early in establishing Missions. About 30 Years ago they had ten Missions in this Colony, supported at the annual Expence of £. 450 Sterling. But as the Church there has become able “to stand upon its own “Legs, and without foreign Help to support it- “self;” the Bounty of the Society has been withdrawn, and at present they have but one Missionary in the whole Colony, and he is employed altogether among the poor *Palatines*. Let the Reader consider this Case which is directly in point, and attend to what has been said of the Society's Conduct relating to the adjoining Colony of North-Carolina, together with what will be soon said of Nova-Scotia; and he will be able to form a satisfactory Judgment---whether they are disposed, or  
not,

§ See the *Bishop of Landaff's* SERMON.



not, to multiply Missions where there is but *little* Need of them, and to neglect those Places which have *most* Need of them, as Dr. Chauncy very decently charges them.

HE censures them for supporting Ministers in Places, where the Congregations are able to support them, without any Assistance. But according to his own Account, there can be but very few such Places in New-England. And it has never been fairly proved that the Society have done this, in a single Instance. I know that several such Instances have been pointed out by the Enemies of the Church; but the Congregations themselves, which ought to be the best Judges of their own Abilities, declare the Case to have been otherwise, and the Friends of the Church believe their Declarations to be true. Whether it be so or not, the Society must judge according to the Evidence they receive; and it can hardly be expected, that the Testimony of their Enemies, in such a Case, will weigh more with them, than the Testimony of their Friends, agreeing with the Declarations of the Congregations more immediately concerned.

HE also accuses the Society of having *strangely neglected Canada*; and for Proof of it, refers to a Passage which clearly proves, that they have made that Colony the Object of their Attention. What he refers to, is an Abstract of a Letter from Mr. Delisle, Chaplain to the Garrison at Montreal, dated Sept. 30, 1767. If the Society had been under no Concern for the religious State of Canada, they never would have published to the World the Contents of such a Letter. It is probable that the Letter was sent to them, in Consequence of their



Inquiry ; as it contains partly a *Notitia parochialis*, such as the Society require from their Missionaries. I know that they had the Subject under Consideration, before the Time that the Letter was dated. Although the Doctor speaks of me, as a Person not having that *Christian Concern for the Propagation of the Gospel, which might have been expected from a Missionary* ; yet so early as in 1766, I joined with my worthy Brethren in CONVENTION, in representing the religious State of Canada to the Society, and in recommending it to their Attention. This was no great while after the Cession of that Colony, by Treaty, to the British Crown.

AT that Time, although something was proper to be done in Favour of the protestant Religion in Canada ; yet the Circumstances of the Country did not require, nor would they with any Propriety admit of, so much to be done, as many People are apt to imagine. There were then but few Protestants in the Colony, that were Natives of it ; and but few English People, except the Military ; and those few seated chiefly in Quebec and Montreal, where divine Service was regularly performed by the Chaplains of the Garrisons. If therefore Missionaries at that time had been sent to other Places, it must have been in Order to proselyte the Canadians who were Papists, and Strangers to the English Language. But the Papists would have been alarmed at such an Attempt, when it was peculiarly necessary to quiet and compose their Spirits ; and they would have construed it to be a Violation of the Treaty of Surrender, which provided that they might continue to enjoy their Religion, without Molestation. It would therefore have been a very hopeful Project in the Society, to *multiply Missions*  
in



in such a Country, at such a Time, and under such Circumstances. Especially if it be considered, that in Order to send Missionaries to Canada, as the Society's whole Fund was already engaged, and no new Resources appeared, they must have broken through their former Engagements, and have removed their Missionaries from other Places, where they were thought to be usefully employed ; or have discharged some of them, that they might be able to support others in Canada---where there could be but little Prospect of their Usefulness, and where there was much Danger of their increasing that Discontent, which required all the Skill of Government to keep within Bounds.

BESIDES : Had the Society been ever so able, and the Prospect of Success much greater than it was ; it would not have been proper for them to crowd Missionaries into Canada, as soon as its Subjection to the British Crown was confirmed. It would have been *decent* at least, to wait some Time, to see whether the Government, upon settling the *Police* of that new Colony, would not make some suitable Provision for the Encouragement and Support of the protestant Religion in that District, so far as it should appear to be expedient and proper. Until the final Resolutions of Government were taken, and it was known that no Provision of this Kind was to be expected from thence, there are many Persons that would have charged the Society with intermeddling in Matters out of their Province, and not treating their Superiors with proper Respect, had they assumed the Management of the religious Affairs of Canada into their own Hands. On similar Occasions, where there have been new Acquisitions of Territory, the Society was actually told,



told, that it was irregular and improper for them to act, until the Designs of Government were known. I say not this at random, but upon the best Authority.

SINCE the Society have thought the proper Time was come, for them to interpose in Behalf of Canada, they have not been inactive. Government has been solicited to send protestant Clergymen into that Country; in Consequence of which, *three* are actually appointed, one for Quebec, one for Montreal, and a third (I think) for Trois-Riveirs--- which are the only Places at present, in which much Advantage can be expected from Protestant Clergymen. The Society have also solicited for School-Masters; and have already sent considerable Packets of Books, at their own Expence, into different Parts of the Province. As Opportunity and Ability will admit of, more will be done; and indeed, every Thing that is practicable in Favour of the protestant Religion may be expected, from the Vigilance and Activity of that charitable and venerable Body.

WE may fairly judge of their Disposition towards Canada, from the Care they have taken of Nova-Scotia. Not many Years ago, the religious State of that Colony was nearly the same, with what the religious State of Canada now is. And it appears from the *Abstracts*, that the Society, although their Progress at first fell short of their own Wishes, as well as of some People's Expectations, have in their Employment in Nova-Scotia no less than thirteen Missionaries and School-Masters, at the yearly Expence of £.495 Sterling, to say nothing of the large Sums annually expended in Books, &c.



&c. By this Time I hope the Doctor begins to be ashamed of the unrighteous Abuse, with which he has treated a Society, that deserves to be honoured, applauded and admired by the whole Christian World.

DR. Chauncy often speaks of the Church of England in the Northern Colonies as inconsiderable, not worthy of Notice, and in a State little better than Non-existence. And yet if we were to judge from the mighty Efforts that have been made to stop its Progress, and the Alarms it has occasioned to the Bigots, we should imagine that it had, not only the Rage, but the *Strength*, of a Lion, and threatened the speedy Destruction of every other Religion in the Country. In his former Pamphlet he said, that *it has grown but little in Comparison with the other Denominations* in New-England. This I disputed, and this he thinks proper still to maintain. But among *the other Denominations*, that have thus increased in New-England, especially in the Massachusetts, he must not reckon his own, the *Congregationalist*. For Time was, when they not only claimed, but actually kept Possession of that whole Dominion, to themselves; and as other Denominations since have obtained Footing, the *Congregationalists* must have *proportionably* lost Ground.

AND here again I am obliged to *uncover the Nakedness of my Ancestors*, for which the Doctor is answerable. In Order to maintain their exclusive Right to the Country, the Congregationalists transported, as Criminals, such as were found to retain an Affection for the Church; and the Quakers, that had the Luck to escape hanging, were banished  
by



by them, on Pain of Death. I need say nothing of the latter, as their History is well known : But I beg Leave to lay before the Reader, a Passage relating to the former, extracted from a valuable Book † which is now scarce, in which there appears to be no Partiality in Favor of the Church. “ Some of  
 “ the Passengers, says he, that came over at the same  
 “ Time (1629), observing that the Ministers did  
 “ not at all use the Book of Common Prayer, and  
 “ that they did administer Baptism and the Lord’s  
 “ Supper without the Ceremonies, and that they  
 “ professed also to use Discipline in the Congrega-  
 “ tion against scandalous Persons, &c. they began  
 “ to raise some Trouble : Of these Mr. Samuel  
 “ Brown and his Brother were the Chief, the one  
 “ being a Lawyer, the other a Merchant, both of  
 “ them amongst the Number of the first Paten-  
 “ tees, Men of Estates, and Men of Parts and  
 “ Port in the Place. These two Brothers gather-  
 “ ed a Company together in a Place distinct from  
 “ the public Assembly, and there sundry Times  
 “ the Book of Common-Prayer was read unto  
 “ such as resorted thither. The Governor Mr.  
 “ Endicot taking Notice of the Disturbance that  
 “ began to grow amongst the People by this Means,  
 “ he convented the two Brothers before him. They  
 “ accused the Ministers as departing from the Or-  
 “ ders of the Church of England, that they were  
 “ Separatists, &c. but for themselves, they would  
 “ hold to the Orders of the Church of England.  
 “ ---The Governor and Council---finding these two  
 “ Brothers to be of high Spirits, and their Speeches  
 “ and

† *New-England’s Memorial*, by Mr. Morton ; who styles himself “ Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-  
 “ *Plimouth*.”







Difference of Principle. Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers and others, have ventured to come into the Colony; many of the Congregationalists have adopted their Principles; and the rest commonly entertain more favorable Sentiments of those they differ from, than they received from their Ancestors. Although they have a Veneration for their Fore-Fathers, yet they are not so blind as to be unable to distinguish the Defects in their Character; which Defects they think themselves under no Obligations to vindicate. This candid Temper has been, as such a Temper always will be, favorable to the Church; and there are, at this Time, not less than 20 Churches actually built, and a still larger Number of episcopal Congregations, in this *anti-episcopal* Province.

As to Connecticut, the Doctor allows the Church to have increased there, beyond the Proportion of other Denominations; but he affects to be of Opinion, that what I said upon the Subject was *hyperbolic*, and beyond the Bounds of literal Truth. My Words were these: ‘ I cannot, at present, recollect an Example, in any Age or Country, wherein so great a Proportion of Profelytes has been made to any Religion in so short a Time, as has been made to the Church of England in the Western Division of that populous Colony; unless where the Power of Miracles, or the Arm of the Magistrate, was exerted to produce that Effect \*.’ This was literally true at that Time; and as I could then recollect no such Example, so none has occurred to me since. If the Doctor knows of any, let it be pointed out.

He

\* Appeal defended. p. 217.



HE was pleased to represent the Church of England in the Colonies as being in her *Infancy*, and so far from a *State of Maturity*, as to make it *not worth while for a Bishop to come here*. And it was answered: ‘ Infant and feeble as She is, he has allowed that She may be 270,000 strong in the Colonies, exclusively of the Islands, after reducing her Numbers as low as possible. Now can he possibly think, when he gives himself Time for Consideration, that the Church of England in America, containing 270,000 Members, (besides many Thousands more in the Islands) in which are included most of the Governors and principal Persons in the Colonies, is so inconsiderable, that it is *not worth while* for a Bishop to take Charge of it? Would he look upon an equal Number of any People upon Earth, however low in their Circumstances, or however light when weighed in the political Balance, in so contemptible a Light †?’

HE replies, that when he spake in this Manner, he had Reference only to her *Existence in the Seven Colonies, extending from Pennsylvania to the Northward*. p. 152. I have again examined the Passage as it stands in his Pamphlet, and I see nothing that shews that he confined his View within this limited Compass. Besides, he had no Right to answer a general Representation of the Church in *all* the Colonies, by a partial Account of it as existing only in *some* of the Colonies. He might as properly have confined his View to the Province of Massachusetts, or to the Town of Boston only. The Plea for an Episcopate was made in Behalf, *at least*, of 270,000 People in the Colonies, besides

† Appeal defended. p. 218.



sides many Thousands in the Islands ; and to shew the Invalidity of it, he urges that it is not necessary on Account of 26 or 27 Thousands of that Number, according to the Calculations of his own Arithmetic---throwing more than nine Tenths of the whole intirely out of the Question. This he may call *reasoning*, but there is a more proper Name by which others will call it.

He acknowledges that *the Governor, in most of these Colonies, is commonly in Name an Episcopalian* ; but he respectfully says, that they are *sometimes destitute of every Thing that looks like Religion.* p. 153. Some Men can seize upon the slightest Occasions, to “ speak evil of Dignities.” I do not believe there is at this Time a Governor on the Continent, who pretends to be an Episcopalian, that has given any just Ground for this Reflection. Their Characters in general are irreproachable. Some of them are as eminent for their Virtues, as their Stations ; the Examples, as well as Patrons, of whatever is amiable and excellent in private Life ; the Ornaments, as well as Friends and Protectors of Religion, But were it otherwise, their Rank renders them important, and gives a Weight to that religious Society, of which they profess themselves Members.

THE Doctor proceeds, in IAMBICS : *It is quite remote from Truth to say, that most of the principal Persons in the Colonies, are of this Persuasion, unless by principal Persons are meant, those who are appointed to their civil Posts from home.* What was said is most unquestionably true of the Colonies to the Southward of New-England, and probably true of the Colonies in general, *exclusively of those*  
Persons



Persons that are appointed to *civil Posts* under the Government. But why, in the Name of common Sense, should these be excluded? Does the Doctor imagine, that a civil Employment, held under the Government, *degrades* a Man from his former Rank and Character in Life? Such Ebullitions of an anti-monarchical Spirit ought, in Prudence, to have been suppressed.

He continues : *In general there are 50 principal Persons to one, in the non-episcopal Colonies, who are not Members of the Church of England, but of Churches of other Denominations.* By the non-episcopal Colonies he means here, I suppose, as he explains himself elsewhere, New-England, New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania. In the three last-mentioned Colonies, the Gentlemen of Fortune and Character belonging to the Church of England, are, I believe, as numerous, as those of all other Denominations, excepting the Quakers in Pennsylvania. And as to New-England, there are as many Persons of Distinction belonging to the Church, (some say many more) in Proportion to the Number of Episcopalians, as of any other Profession. But if we suppose the Proportion to be but equal throughout these Northern Colonies in general ; then, in Order to make the Number of principal Persons of other Persuasions 50 Times greater than of those belonging to the Church, those different Denominations must be 50 Times as numerous as the Members of the Church. Now the Doctor allows, that in these seven Colonies, there may be 27,000 Episcopalians : Consequently, according to his Representation, there must be, within the same Compass, 1,377,000 Inhabitants. But if the Number of Episcopalians is much larger,



larger, as it undoubtedly is, then the Inhabitants, from Pennsylvania to the Northward, without including Canada and Nova-Scotia, can be but little less than 2,000,000. The notorious Falsehood of the *Conclusion*, argues a Defect in the Doctor's Premises.

IN answering the *Appeal*, Dr. Chauncy had introduced a long Extract from one of Dr. Mayhew's Pamphlets, to which Mr. Apthorp had given a direct and particular Answer, whereof not the least Notice was taken. This Conduct appeared to me to be extraordinary; and in speaking of it I used the following Words: 'Was it treating his Readers, ' generously, or fairly, or honestly, to present them, ' with Dr. Mayhew's Objections, broadly hinting, ' although not directly affirming, that they had, ' not been answered; when he must have known, ' that they had not only been answered, but that ' no Reply had been made to the Answer?' He now says, that there was no Need of any Excuse for such Conduct. *In Compliance with the Invitation given in the Appeal, my Business was, not to answer Objections, but to bring them that they might be answered by the Doctor.* There is something very curious in this Account of the Matter. He offered Objections that had been publicly refuted, without any Intimation that a Refutation had been attempted, because it was not his Business *to answer Objections*. Would then his taking Notice that Mr. Apthorp had replied, have been *an Answer* to Dr. Mayhew's Objections? If so, although I never thought there would be much Difficulty in answering them, the Work is more easy than I imagined. If it was not his Business *to answer* Objections; neither was it his proper Business to bring Objections,



ons, in that Manner, that had been answered. The Invitation in the *Appeal*, can be no Justification of such Conduct, as it proposed only ‘a fair and candid Debate.’ An Objection that has been shewn to be weak, is no better than a Fact that has been proved to be false. If the Weakness of an Objection has been only *attempted* to be shewn; it is still upon the same Footing with a Fact that has been contradicted: And it is not ‘fair and candid,’ in such a Case, to offer the Objection as sound, without clearing it of the Imputation of being defective; any more than to assume the Truth of a Fact that is contradicted or denied, without clearing it of the Imputation of Falsehood. He thinks it was his Business to bring Objections to be answered by me: But the bringing such Objections as he has often exhibited, looks more like an Amusement of Idleness, than the proper *Business* of any Man, especially of the Doctor’s Character and Station. The Truth, I believe, is, that he hoped Mr. Apthorp’s *Review* had escaped me, and that I was unable to answer those Objections of Dr. Mayhew as effectually as Mr. Apthorp had done. Indeed he seems to have a strong Desire, that nothing which that Gentleman had written, in Vindication of the Church, should be repeated or remembered. Such a careful and studied Neglect of Mr. Apthorp, is the greatest Honour that the Enemies of the Church can pay him.

BEFORE the Doctor retired to make Room for Dr. Mayhew, he proposed an *Expedient* to compromise Matters between the Episcopalians and their Adversaries. It was, that the King should grant a Commission to some of the Clergy here, to perform the Office of a Bishop. I told him his  
Expedient



Expedient wanted even Plausibility. ‘ It can neither answer the Ends of Episcopalians, nor those of the Projector and his Adherents. The Powers wanted by the American Church are *purely of a spiritual Nature*, which therefore the King cannot give : Such Authority as can be given by the King, is altogether *temporal*, which is the very Thing that the Dissenters dread :---So that neither Episcopalians nor Dissenters can possibly acquiesce in the Expedient†.’ In Reply to this, he only says, that if the Reader will examine what he said relating to the Subject, he will be convinced, *that under pretence of saying Something, I had really said nothing.* To so feeble a Reply, I shall not pretend to say any Thing. Therefore

I SHALL pass on to consider the Reasons assigned, for Dr. Mayhew’s not replying to Mr. Apthorp. *Neither he (Dr. Mayhew) or [nor] his Friends thought it (Mr. Apthorp’s Review) worthy of such Notice.* This is but a poor Justification of any Man, from a Charge that lies against him. Others think, perhaps as justly, that he made no Reply, because he was afraid of the Consequence. He had Sense enough to know that it was Time to stop ; I wish that some others may improve by his Example. Another Reason assigned for his not making a Reply is, that it was imagined that Mr. Apthorp, *wrote principally with a View to recommend himself to a certain great Man, whose Favour might be advantageous to him.* Were there no other Motives then, that could induce Mr. Apthorp to review a Controversy that he himself had occasioned, and in which he had been so often mentioned on both Sides, than to recommend himself to the Favour of a certain Superior ?

† *Appeal defended*, p. 220.



Superior ? Or is there the least Evidence that he was at all influenced by the Consideration, whereby it is insinuated that he was *principally* governed ? How ungenerous then, how low and illiberal is it, to ascribe to a Gentleman of his Character such a mercenary Motive ? If any one should charge Dr. Chauncy with having written Two huge Pamphlets against American Bishops, *principally with a View to recommend himself to the Favour* of some great Demagogue in the Town of Boston, would he not think such a Reflection unworthy of a Gentleman ? And yet, I believe, the Evidence of this, both internal and external, is as clear and authentic, as can be produced against Mr. Apthorp. But whatever Object this latter Gentleman might have had more immediately in View, it is nothing to the Purpose. His *Review* bore hard upon Dr. Mayhew's Performance ; the Reputation of the latter, and of his Cause, was at Stake ; and it concerned him to vindicate both himself and his Cause, as well as he could.

BUT this he neglected to do, and Dr. Chauncy attempts it. And as I have occasioned Mr. Apthorp to be brought into this Debate, in his Absence ; I esteem it my Duty to repair, as well as I can, the Injuries he has suffered on my Account.

THE *Answerer* to Dr. Mayhew's *Observations* had explained the Plan, on which only it had been proposed to send Bishops to America. Dr. Mayhew allowed that the Proposal was set in a more unexceptionable Point of Light, than he had seen it in before ; but he objected to the Information, as not coming from sufficient Authority. Yet at the same Time he appeared to believe, what is now  
E e                      universally



universally known, that his Informer was no less a Person than the late Archbishop of Canterbury. To shew that the Plan there presented to the Public, was no peculiar Scheme of the *Answerer*, Mr. Apthorp declared that the same Plan had been agreed upon by many Persons of high Rank in the Church, and that all who appeared to have considered it, heartily approved of it---the Evidence of which he was ready to produce. Among others, Bishop Butler had drawn up a Scheme for an American Episcopate, in 1750: this was published as a Specimen, and it exactly agreed with the Plan contained in the *Answer*; and enough was said, in all Reason, to silence Dr. Mayhew's affected Suspicions. Nor does Dr. Chauncy offer any Thing, that shews the Impropriety of Mr. Apthorp's Representation.

INDEED he says of these Plans, that *they are not to be looked on as Schemes set forth on the Foot of proper Authority*. p. 157. All the Authority wanted, is sufficient Evidence that such an Episcopate as was specified, and no other, had been proposed for the Colonies. But if by *proper Authority* he means that of the King and Parliament, what he says is true, but not to the Purpose. For the Question was not, what Kind of an Episcopate was intended, or whether any was intended, by the King and Parliament; but what Kind of an Episcopate had been proposed by those that had taken the Subject into Consideration, and were desirous that Bishops might be sent to America. Now the Bishops at home, and many of the principal Friends of the Church, both there and here, had agreed upon a Plan of an Episcopate for the Colonies, which was formed with a View of relieving  
the



the spiritual Necessities of the Church, without affecting the Liberties of others, or interfering with the civil Government; upon which Plan it always appeared probable that an Episcopate would be granted. That some Plan had been concerted, was commonly known; the Nature of the Plan, the *Answerer* explained; and his Explanation Mr. Apthorp confirmed, proving it to have been fair and just. This is all that could be required or expected, as the Plan had not been presented and recommended to the Government, and consequently could not be *set forth on the Foot of the Authority* of Government. If the only Plan that had been proposed was unexceptionable, Men ought to have been satisfied; for nothing can be more absurd than to oppose it, because reasonable Objections may be offered against some other Plan, that never has been proposed for the Colonies.

BUT the Doctor says: *Whatever the Planners might intend or pretend, if ever an Episcopate is authoritatively settled in America, it may be, for aught any of them all can say, upon a Plan very different from what they have proposed.* If the *Antiepiscopalians* had the Wisdom to signify their Approbation of this, which in their own Consciences they know can never hurt them, or the Discretion not to oppose it; there could be no Room to doubt, that whenever an Episcopate should be *authoritatively* settled in the Colonies, it would be according to a Plan, that had been offered on one Side, and admitted on the other, as unexceptionable. But what Alterations unreasonable Opposition, attended with the vilest Abuses of the national Church, may occasion, is more difficult to say: Although we still hope, that Allowance may be made for



Prejudices, and that no Resentment of such Treatment may be shewn, when the Design for an American Episcopate shall come to be put in Execution. We wish to give no Offence to others; we hope no just Offence will be ever given. We are willing to forget the Injuries we have received. We would avoid every Appearance that might excite Jealousy; and we should think ourselves happy in the Friendship and Confidence of every religious Denomination in the Colonies. As one Proof of this Disposition, our cordial Consent to, and our earnest Desire of, an Episcopate upon the Plan under Consideration, are offered to the Public.

OF this Mr. Apthorp spake, as “such a simple and beautiful Plan of the most ancient and moderate Episcopacy,” that it ought to remove the Apprehensions and Scruples of the most Suspicious. The Doctor says it can be no just Plan of the ancient Episcopacy, because the Bishops are to have no Authority over the Laity. But as this Subject has been considered already, I have no Occasion to repeat what has been said.

DR. Mayhew had ridiculed, “with burlesque Gravity,” some Expressions in the Society’s *Abstract* of 1715, wherein Confirmation was spoken of. Mr. Apthorp remarked, that “he well knows, or easily may, that we ascribe no more Efficacy to the laying on Bishop’s Hands, than his Brethren do to the laying on of Presbyter’s Hands.” Dr. Chauncy replies, that Mr. Apthorp is mistaken with Regard to this Point. For, says he: *Do Episcopalians never speak of an INDELIBLE CHARACTER as impressed by the Bishop’s Hand in Ordination?*---implying, that the Congregationalists



onalists pretend to no such Thing. I imagine the Doctor here spake without Attention or Recollection; for I am not willing to suppose, that he does not understand the Principles of "his Brethren." They believe, or *used* to believe, that an *indelible Character* is, in some Cases, conveyed by themselves, as firmly as we do that such a Character is ever given by our Bishops. By an *indelible Character* is meant, a Character that continues through Life, and of which a Man cannot divest himself. Such, for Instance, is the *baptismal* Character; which, in the Opinion of all that administer or receive it, can never be laid aside. He that is once baptised, is always considered, in all Circumstances, as a baptised Person. Should he disregard the sacred Character himself, should he apostatize from Christianity, or be excommunicated from the Church, yet his Baptism still remains. For should he return to his Duty, and give sufficient Proofs of his Repentance, so that it would be thought proper to restore him to the Privileges of a Christian, a new Baptism would not be required: The Reason of which is this, and can be this only, that the baptismal Character is considered as *indelible*. This, I believe, is the Opinion of Congregationalists, as well as of others. The Case of Ordination, in this Respect, is much the same with that of Baptism. According to good Information, there have been Instances in New-England, of ordained Ministers, that after a while have given up their sacred Employment, and become perfectly secularized---pursuing, like other Persons some of the common Occupations of Life---and afterwards have resumed their ecclesiastical Functions; to which they have been admitted, without Reordination. This is a Proof that, in New-England, the  
*sacerdotal*



*sacerdotal* Character is also thought to be *indelible*. And indeed when that Character is once communicated, why should it be more circumscribed, with Regard to Time, than to Place? Why should it not continue with a Man as long as he lives, as well as accompany him wherever he goes?

MR. Apthorp fairly concluded from Dr. Mayhew's Performances, that he was not willing that Episcopalians in the Colonies should have that Liberty, without which he and his Brethren would not be satisfied themselves. In controverting this Point, Dr. Chauncy builds upon this rotten Foundation, that the American Episcopalians have, in Reality, the same Liberty with other Denominations, in all Respects; of which nothing farther is needful to be *here* said.

It had been mentioned as one Advantage expected from an American Episcopate, that the Clergy here would be under a proper Government. Dr. Mayhew treated this with his usual Candor and Charity, insinuating that the Episcopal Clergy in America peculiarly required to be "reduced to Order." Mr. Apthorp answered, that the contrary was rather to be infered, from their unanimous Desire of such an Episcopate. Dr. Chauncy does not deny the Justness of this Inference, nor dispute but that the Clergy, who have petitioned for Bishops, are *unanimous, at least in Appearance, in their Wishes to have them*; but he still comforts himself, that the Clergy in the Episcopal Colonies have not petitioned for, nor shewn themselves to be desirous of American Bishops; and consequently, that they have not given this Proof of their not being a *disorderly* Set of People. How long this  
Consolation



Consolation is like to continue, the Reader may judge from what has been said ; and how much, in the Doctor's Opinion, the Reputation of the Clergy depends upon their petitioning for Bishops, is worthy of Notice, as he undertakes to express the Sentiments of his Brethren in general.

THE Task of answering all the Objections and Cavils in the Pamphlet before me, is like that of teaching Children to read in their Primers ; it requires much Time and Patience, and after all, the Profit is but inconsiderable. This Observation was naturally suggested by other Parts of the Doctor's Performance ; but here, where a Reply to Mr. Apthorp is attempted, it forces itself so irresistably upon me, that I am unable to suppress it. The Exceptions of our Author in general, appear to me to be so very weak and trifling, not to mention the almost perpetual Repetitions of what had been before said, that I know not how to reconcile them with his reputed Judgment and good Sense. However, amidst these, there are a few Particulars that deserve not to be intirely slighted.

DR. Mayhew had objected against an American Episcopate, because Bishops had sometimes proved to be ambitious and troublesome. Mr. Apthorp answered, that "so are Presbyters---too often ;" and therefore Presbyters might as well be excluded from the Colonies as Bishops, on that Account. Dr. Chauncy replies : *This proves nothing, unless he could have said farther, that their Sphere of Influence was equally extensive, in Consequence of which there was equal Danger, from their intriguing with great Men at home, or with Governors or principal Men here, of carrying into Execution such Schemes as*  
might



*might be greatly hurtful, both in a civil and religious Sense, p. 163.* Presbyters must always be supposed to have *some* influence; and in Proportion to the Degree and Extent of it, this Objection is equally conclusive against them, as against Bishops, according to Mr. Apthorp's Argument: Nay, it will equally conclude against the Toleration of any Episcopalians at all, in Proportion to their Influence. For the Principle is this---that wherever Men of other Persuasions are supposed to have an Influence, that may be used against the Congregationalists, the latter are to oppose their Existence, at least, in the same Country with themselves, and to refuse them the common Rights of Christians: On which Principle alone the Opposition to the Bishops of our Plan can be justified. The Influence of a Bishop is undoubtedly greater than that of a Presbyter; but the Influence of a Bishop without any temporal Power, like those in Question, has never been esteemed formidable in any Country. To object against such, is like objecting against a Man's natural or acquired Abilities; and it may as justly be contended, that no Clergyman should be tolerated in America, whose Capacity exceeded a certain Size, or whose Learning exceeded such a limited Standard. Supposing the Influence of an American Bishop to be equal to that of Twenty Presbyters; yet if there will be a Hundred Presbyters in America to one Bishop, then this Objection will have Five Times the Force against the Order of Presbyters, as against the Order of Bishops. If the Doctor would be ashamed of the Objection in one Case, he ought not to urge it in the other.

THE Unreasonableness of the Objection farther appears, from what Mr. Apthorp justly observes,  
 viz.



viz. That the Temper of the English Bishops is now, and has been for a long Time, such, as affords no Room for Jealousy, but intitles them to Confidence. The Doctor is not willing to acknowledge this; especially *if it be true*, as Dr. Mayhew had been informed, *that High-Church Tory Principles are [have been] lately revived in England*, p. 164. This Information may have been *not* true; and such Principles may have been revived in England, and not countenanced by the Bishops. The Bishops at home may have embraced them, and yet Bishops of other Principles may be sent to America. Besides, High-Church Principles (to use the Doctor's *Cant*) are not necessarily intolerant; and no Principles but those of Intolerance are justly to be dreaded. That the Bishops at home are Friends to religious Liberty, and disposed, not to oppress, but to oblige the Dissenters, the most considerable of the latter have candidly confessed. The late excellent Archbishop Secker was, in the Doctor's Phraseology, a *High-Flyer* in his Principles; and yet he was as forward to do kind Offices to Protestants of other Principles, as they themselves could reasonably wish. An Instance of this Kind, and of the Christian Temper and Generosity of the whole Bench of Bishops, that ought never to be forgotten, is published in his *Life*. In 1743 "his  
 " Lordship (then Bishop of Oxford) received a  
 " Letter from Dr. Wishart, Provost of Edinburgh  
 " College, recommending to him his Brother and  
 " Mr. Wallace, Deputies from the established  
 " Clergy of Scotland, to promote a Bill in Parlia-  
 " ment for providing a Maintenance for their  
 " Widows and Children, which many of them  
 " imagined the Bishops would oppose. Dr. Secker  
 " paid them all the Civility, and did them all the



“ Service he could. *None of the Bench opposed*  
 “ *their Bill* either publickly or privately, and *it*  
 “ *was moved for by a Bishop at each of its three Rea-*  
 “ *dings* in the House of Lords\*.” The late Dr. S. Chandler, who was intimate with his Grace and several of the Bishops, and knew them all, thought there could be no Danger from their Disposition, nor from any other Quarter, that would justify an Opposition to the Episcopate of our Plan; and therefore, like a wise and honest Man, and a real Friend to religious Liberty, he freely signified his Approbation of it.

Dr. Mayhew objected, that supposing Bishops should be at first sent in the Manner proposed, yet there was no Certainty that they and their Successors would remain contented, very long, under such Limitations. Mr. Apthorp replied: “ Who  
 “ knows whether the New-Englanders will not  
 “ hang Quakers----again,” as, in one of their Colonies, they did formerly? This was a sufficient Answer to so unreasonable an Objection; especially as Dr. Mayhew himself had administered an Antidote against the Poison of his own Argument, in these Words: “ It is readily owned, that our Ap-  
 “ prehensions of what may possibly or probably be  
 “ the Consequences of Bishops being sent hither,  
 “ *ought not to put us on infringing the religious Li-*  
 “ *berty of our Fellow Subjects,* and Christian Bre-  
 “ thren†.” But Mr. Apthorp proceeds: “ The  
 “ Clergy of England are in general Friends to  
 “ religious Freedom: The People of England,  
 “ Whigs and Tories, are unfavourable to clerical  
 Power;

\* The *Life* of Archbishop Secker, by the Doctors, Porteus and Stinton, p. 25.

† Dr. Mayhew's *Second Defence*, p. 69.



“ Power ; and a far greater Danger than the  
 “ Doctor’s imaginary one, is, that of their laying  
 “ aside all Regard to the Christian Ministry, in  
 “ every Shape, and to Christianity itself.”

THE Reader will observe, that the preceeding Objection does, in Effect, admit of an Episcopate on the present Plan ; for it is made only on the Supposition that this Plan may be altered ; and the possible or probable *Alteration* is its only Object. But of any material Alteration of the Plan we see no Probability. In this Country, we do not desire it ; at home, there appears no Disposition to make it : And after a Plan of such a Nature has been once put in Execution, especially if Men on all Sides shall appear to have been satisfied with it, every Day will render an Alteration more difficult. The general Disposition, as Mr. Apthorp observed, is friendly to religious Liberty : It is far more likely to increase than diminish ; and therefore it is most probable, that no Alterations will be made, in this or any other Plan, that are unfavourable to the religious Rights of any Denomination of Christians. Upon this general Disposition of our Superiors, which is a Security to others, we also depend---for the full Enjoyment of the Institutions of the Church in the Colonies ; in Order to which, an Episcopate is absolutely necessary. An Episcopate therefore we claim, as one of the common Rights of Christians, and as Subjects of a free Government. Every Opposition to our Claim is an Infringement of religious Liberty ; we cannot but look upon it in this Light ourselves, and we doubt not but the Government, when the Subject shall be taken into Consideration, will look upon it in the same Light.



To the foregoing Representation of Mr. Apthorp, the Doctor replies : *All this being taken for granted, yet MAY not Times alter, and Administrations change ?* p. 165. This is bringing the Argument back, from Probability to Possibility. If the general Disposition is more favourable to religious Liberty than it ever has been, Appearances are on the side of religious Liberty. *Times* do not easily *alter* in such Respects. A national Character is not soon lost ; Changes of *Administration*, unless it falls into the Hands of Foreigners, seldom affect it. There can be no greater Security to any Privilege or Right, than that the Sentiments and Disposition of the Public are known to favour it. To object therefore the *Possibility* that the best Security may fail, shews the Situation and Temper of our Adversaries. Their Situation is such, that, for Want of plausible Objections, they are obliged to use those that are monstrous and shocking : And their Temper is such, that they are determined, at any Rate, to oppose our Enjoyment of equal Privileges with themselves. They clearly discover, that they will never consent to our having an Episcopate in any Form, by opposing one in the most unexceptionable Form that can be mentioned. Indeed the Doctor has consented that we may have Bishops from the Moravians ; but he may as well retract this, as his other Concessions. And if our Plan had been to have Moravian Bishops, he would probably have contended as furiously against them, as against those that have been requested.

HE urges, in the Words of Dr. Mayhew : *We are certainly more sure against Oppression (by Bishops) in the Absence of Bishops, than we should be if they were once fixed here.* It appears then, as I have



have just observed, that no other Security will satisfy some People, than our having no Bishops at all. However, as there is no Probability, hardly a Possibility, that such an unreasonable Opposition should prevent it, it concerns them to consider the following Words of Mr. Apthorp : “ They (Bishops) *may* soon be sent, and with much greater Authority than is asked for them now ; and perhaps *with some* RESENTMENT *of the Opposition made to them before.*” Should this be the Case, which I hope it may not be, the blind and impetuous Zeal of these Sticklers against Bishops, may in some Measure excuse, but it can never atone for, the Mischief they will have occasioned to their own Party.

Mr. Apthorp proceeds : “ English Dissenters, who have Six and Twenty Bishops established among them, fear no Harm from them. Why then should the New-England Dissenters fear any, if one or two should be established, with much less Power, in one or two neighbouring Provinces ?” The Doctor replies, that if the Dissenters at home *fear no Harm* from the Bishops, yet they *suffer* it. *They are, and ever will be, in suffering Circumstances ; unless the Establishment of the Church of England is dissolved, or greatly altered.* p. 166. Whatever they suffer from the national Establishment, is here charged to the Account of the present Bishops. But did they make the Establishment ? Is it in their Power to alter it ? Or if it was, would it be right in them to give up the legal Advantages of that Church, with the Interests of which they are intrusted, before they find it to be agreeable to the Generality of its Members ? Indeed were those Advantages founded in  
the



the Oppression of other People, the Bishops ought in Duty to use their Influence that the Oppression might be removed. But the English Dissenters feel themselves to be not oppressed; and many of them are sensible of the peculiar Mildness and Moderation, not only of the Bishops, but of the national Establishment. No Dissenters from the established Religion in any Country on Earth, have less Reason to complain of their *suffering Circumstances*, than those in England. If the Doctor has Reference to what they contribute for the Support of the parochial Clergy, exclusively of Tithes, it amounts to but a Trifle; and what they pay in Tithes, is not, nor has it ever been, any Part of their own Property, as was shewn in the *Appeal*. If he refers to their Exclusion, from civil Offices under the Government; many of them find Ways to evade the Law, so that the Exclusion, in Effect, is far from being general. But were it universal, their *Suffering* would consist only in not being admitted to certain political *Favors*; Favors which are not granted them, on Account only of their known Disposition to abuse them, to the Injury of the national Establishment. In the mean Time, they have every Indulgence that is requisite to the full Enjoyment of religious Liberty. They are allowed to exercise their own Form of ecclesiastical Government---they are allowed to ordain their own Ministers (Privileges which the Episcopalians in America still want, and may for ever want, with the good Will of some People)---they are allowed to worship God in their own Way without Control---they are allowed to make Profelytes, if they can, from the national Church---and, notwithstanding certain Statutes and Canons, they are not restrained by the Government from publickly abusing



busing the national Establishment, to the Mildness of which they are indebted for these Indulgences. After all this, they can have no great Reason to complain of their *suffering Circumstances*.

Dr. Mayhew pretended to be apprehensive, that the Bishops proposed might be supported by a Tax upon the Colonies. Mr. Apthorp answered, that until a proper Maintenance could be otherwise provided, none would be sent; as was evident from Bishop Butler's Plan, with which all the others agreed. Here Dr. Chauncy seems to have been exhausted; and he says in Reply, or rather instead of a Reply: *It is not possible any one should have a Conception of the Pertinency, Force, and ELEGANCE of the Doctor's Objection, as set forth at large in his reasoning upon it, by reading only this cursory, slighty, and, I may say, trifling Answer to it.* p. 167. Here is a new Quality ascribed to Objections. I have heard of elegant Expressions, and elegant Compositions; but of *elegant Objections* I have never before heard. It seems then, that as an Objection may be *pertinent* and not *forcible*, or *forcible* and not *pertinent*, so an Objection, that is neither *forcible* nor *pertinent*, may still be *elegant*; and on that Account be worthy of Attention. Mr. Apthorp, I believe, confined himself to the Consideration of the *Pertinency* and *Force*, without thinking it worth while to attend to the ELEGANCE, of the Objections before him. But enough of this.

THE Doctor goes on for three or four Pages more, in his Controversy with Mr. Apthorp---*nibbling at here and there a Sentence which he is pleased to pick out*; but he says nothing of any Consequence,



quence, nor does he introduce Dr. Mayhew as saying any Thing of Consequence, that has not been fairly obviated in the Course of the preceding Pages. Although I am tired of the Drudgery I have undergone, yet I beg Leave to assure the Reader that my Resolution continues, to pass by nothing that can deserve his Notice : But after his Kindness, in accompanying me thus far through a disagreeable Road, I think it would be ungenerous to detain him with Trifles, especially when he is so near to the End of his Journey. I shall *therefore* pass over what has been farther offered in Reply to Mr. Apthorp ; and examine what remains, relating more immediately to myself ; which consists almost intirely of Repetitions, and partly of double Repetitions, of what has been said before.

And nothing worthy of Attention appears, before we come to p. 173. I had said : ‘ Our  
 ‘ Claim is, that we may be upon an equal Foot-  
 ‘ ing with the other religious Denominations in  
 ‘ America. In Order to this, it is necessary that  
 ‘ we be allowed the Enjoyment of our *ecclesiastical*  
 ‘ Constitution, in the same compleat Manner as it  
 ‘ is enjoyed by them.’ The Doctor replies, that  
 such a compleat Enjoyment of it, is not agreeable  
 to *the proposed Plan* ; for that it must be attended  
 with *spiritual Courts, and the Exercise of episcopal*  
*Authority in the same precise Way and Manner that*  
*has been established by King and Parliament.* But this  
 is a manifest Perversion of very plain Language.  
 The Word *ecclesiastical* has two Meanings : In a  
 strict Sense it means what belongs to the Church  
 originally, as a spiritual Society, without any Re-  
 lation to the State. It also means, in a larger or  
 laxer Sense, whatever belongs to the Church ; and  
 includes



includes all those external Circumstances and Regulations, which the Church may receive from the civil Authority. These two Senses are materially different ; and when the Word is evidently used in one of them only, it is unfair and sophistical to interpret it in the other. The Plea for the Episcopate in Question, from the very Beginning, considered the Episcopalians in America as a religious Society ; and what was asked or proposed in Favor of it, was *purely* of a spiritual or *ecclesiastical* Nature, in the first and strict Sense of the Word. The *Appendages* added by the Government to the same Church in England, were never considered as any Part of its real Substance, or as essential to its internal Constitution, even there. The Church has a Constitution of its own, given it by its divine Founder, which continues the same, both in Prosperity and Adversity, whether favored or persecuted by the Powers of the World ; and the Doctor knows, that it was the compleat Enjoyment of this Constitution only that was spoken of. To talk therefore of such *spiritual Courts* as have been erected in England, and such Modes as have been established by the civil Authority, as Parts of our *ecclesiastical Constitution*, is a poor quibbling with Words, and utterly unworthy of a fair Disputant.

ALL that was claimed as a Right, in Behalf of the Episcopalians in America, amounted only to a Toleration---such a Toleration as suffers the Church to exist here ‘ in all its Parts.’ The like Perversion is made of this Expression; for the whole Tenor of the *Appeal*, and the *Defence* of it, shewed my Meaning to be, all its *essential* Parts, or all its Parts considered barely as an ecclesiastical Society, unallied with the State. To countenance the

G g

Abuse,



Abuse, the Doctor has added, in Capitals, IN ALL RESPECTS; as if I had insisted, that the Church should not only be allowed to exist here 'in all its Parts,' but *in all Respects as it does in England*. But as I did not use the Expression myself; so I said nothing that could justify the Doctor's Use of it, in such a Manner.

He next introduces, once more, a *State-Establishment*, which has been already considered; and on which therefore I shall not enlarge in this Place. He contends that the Episcopate proposed necessarily implies such an Establishment; and his Method of arguing is recommended to the Attention of such Readers as are fond of 'Curiosities.' *American Bishops*, says he, *shall have no Authority over the Laity;---their spiritual Courts must not be held in this Part of the World;---and they themselves are to be confined in their Power within certain prescribed Boundaries. How is all this to be accomplished? Must there not be the Interposition of the State? Can it be affected in any other Way?---And what is this, in real Meaning, but an Establishment?* p. 176. I know not that the Interposition of the State is at all necessary, in Order to the compleat Execution of our whole Plan. If it be necessary, it is only to limit and circumscribe the Authority of the intended Bishops. Such an Interposition is properly a *Restraint*, and not an *Establishment*; and the *Act* of *Toleration* may, with much greater Propriety, be called an *Establishment* of the various tolerated Sects, in England. I cannot conclude this Remark without observing, that if the Doctor will have a Language peculiar to himself; if he will use Words in such a Sense as no Mortal ever used them before him; he ought to publish a *Glossary*,



*Glossary*, wherein the Singularities of his Phraseology are carefully explained.

I HAVE now considered every Thing in Dr. Chauncy's Pamphlet, that could with any Propriety, be brought before the Public, as worthy of Notice. I have attended to the *Pertinency* and *Force*, although not to the *ELEGANCE*, of all his Objections against an American Episcopate, on the Plan of the *Appeal*, as well as against the Church of England, and the truly venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I am not conscious that I have misrepresented his Sentiments or his Arguments in any Instance. I have passed over nothing, because I found it difficult to be answered. And if I may be allowed to express my own Opinion, it is clearly this, that all he has offered relating to these several Subjects, is either weak or impertinent; and if this has not been shewn, to the Satisfaction of the impartial Reader, I am greatly mistaken. Indeed the Doctor speaks of his own Performance with high Confidence, and with still higher Confidence, of his own Abilities. He says that I have not written in such a Manner, *as to give him an Opportunity for the TRIAL OF STRENGTH.* p. 178. Such a *Bragger* I have not met with, since I was a School-Boy. He may conceit himself to be an *Hercules*; but in this Pamphlet however, he appears, like the real Hercules at the Court of Omphale, to have acted unworthily of such a Character.

HE *intended*, it seems, *to have come to a Conclusion* HERE (by not concluding *here*, but) *by presenting to the Reader, in one View, the Sum of what has been said on both Sides, that he might the more*



*easily make a Judgment in the Case.* But he was diverted by what he calls *a Matter of much greater Importance, the Treatment of the Presbyterian Church at New-York, in Relation to the Charter they petitioned for.* This he thinks sufficient to spread an *Alarm* through all the Colonies on the Continent, giving them solemn Notice what they may expect, should Episcopalians ever come to have the Superiority in their Influence. And he gives a partial History of the Affair, contrasted with the Proceedings of the Boston Assembly in passing an Act, in Consequence of which, the Church of England in the Massachusetts receives Benefit.

THE Disappointment of the Presbyterians in New-York, with Regard to a Charter, he had mentioned in his former Pamphlet; and enough was said in Answer, to shew that they have, upon the whole, no great Reasons for Complaint. Among other Things, it was observed, in the *Appeal defended*, that ‘ it was the Belief at home, that the ‘ Church of England had been treated with peculiar Malevolence, by some of those very Persons ‘ whose Names were annexed to the Petition. It ‘ was therefore not unnatural to suspect, that any ‘ additional Power put into the Hands of such ‘ Persons, would, as Opportunity should offer, be ‘ exerted against the Church.’ If nothing farther could be said, yet so long as this was *believed* to be the Case, whether justly or not: it was of itself a sufficient Reason---not for abridging the religious Liberty---but for not enlarging the Power, of the Presbyterians in New-York. And yet Dr. Chauncy takes not the least Notice of this Observation, nor of any Thing I said relating to the Subject; but sounds a false Alarm to all the Colonies, to prepare for



for a Defence, against the oppressive Designs of the Church of England.

BUT the Refusal of Favors by the Government, to particular Persons who had made themselves obnoxious to Government, by a supposed scurrilous Abuse of the national Establishment, which ought always to be treated with Decency, is no Proof of the ill Temper of Episcopalians, nor an Argument of the Unwillingness of Government to grant Favors to other Persons, although of the same religious Denomination, that have not discovered the same Disposition :---Much less does it prove any Design, to deprive such Persons of any Privileges, of which they are in fair and legal Possession. If the Conduct of the Presbyterians in New-York has been mistaken, or misrepresented, let it be made to appear. If they, or their Friends, can prove, or make it probable, that they have not publicly vilified and abused the national Church, and that they have been free from all secret Intrigues and Combinations against it; in my Opinion, they, as well as other Protestants, are intitled to all Favors from the Patrons of the Church, that are consistent with Safety, or the Constitution. But on the other Hand, if they are conscious of their own evil Intentions and Practices against the Church of England, and know that some of them have been actually discovered; it is surprising that they can expect, much more that they can have the Assurance to ask, particular Favors, to the granting of which, the Consent of those, who regard the Interest and Honor of the Church, is necessary. I will not enter farther into the Conduct or the Case of the Presbyterians in New-York. Let them but clear themselves of the Charges and Suspicions  
with



with which they are loaded ; and then, if any reasonable Favors are refused them, barely on Account of their religious Principles, the Dissenters throughout the Colonies will have just Reason to expect the same Treatment, and not before.

As to the above-mentioned Act of the Boston Assembly, it shews, according to the Doctor's Account of it, a Generosity that is highly commendable and worthy of Imitation. As I am unwilling to entertain any unfavorable Suspicions in such a Case, I should not question the Fairness of the Representation ; were it not that the Doctor triumphs so unmercifully in the *Act*, and takes occasion from it to vilify and abuse the Church of England. I shall *therefore* take the Liberty to observe, that the chief Object in View, was evidently to favor certain *Pastors and Deacons*, and not the Church---and that, although the Church was benefited, yet *if* the Clauses in its Favor were inserted, as some suppose, in Order to secure to the Bill a Passage through all the Branches of the provincial Legislature, or a Confirmation in England, the Favor was granted on mercenary Principles, and the Merit of the *Act*, in Point of Generosity to the Church, is nothing at all. Whether this, or any other private Advantage, was the prevailing Motive, with the Boston Assembly, for favoring the Church of England, the Doctor probably knows ; and *if* it was, others know, that the *Act* deserves not the Praise that he ascribes to it.

As the Doctor was diverted from his *Intention* of summing up *what had been said on both Sides* ; in Order partly to supply his Omission, I will conclude,  
with



with a short Account of the Rise, Progress, and present State of this Controversy.

It began with the *Appeal to the Public*, which was made in Behalf of the Episcopalians in America, amounting, in the Colonies and Islands, as was believed, to near a Million of People. While every other Denomination of Protestants in the British Dominions had an unrestrained Enjoyment of their respective Systems of ecclesiastical Government, and could perform within themselves all those religious Offices and Acts which their Principles required; it was thought to be a great and very extraordinary Hardship, that the American Episcopalians, in Communion with, and Members of, the national established Church, should continue to suffer for Want of the like Privileges—which they could not enjoy without resident Bishops.

THE Disadvantages they were under, were considered under the three Heads, of Ordination, Government, and Confirmation. As to Ordination, they were unable to obtain it for their Candidates without sending them to England, with great Expence, and Danger to their Persons, to say nothing of the Loss of Time. The Expence of such a Voyage, was known to be often more, and seldom less, than £. 100 Sterling to each Candidate. The Danger of it was such as had actually produced a double Decimation of the Candidates, Ten out of Fifty-Two, who at that Time had gone home from the northern Colonies, having perished in and by the Voyage; not to mention several others, that have been deprived of their Liberty, and dragged into miserable Captivity, where



where, for a long while, they suffered all that could be suffered, in Prisons and Dungeons. Under the next Head, it was shewn, that the Clergy of an episcopal Church cannot be properly and regularly governed, without Bishops; and that the Influence of an Episcopate, at the Distance of England from America, can be but little better, in this Respect, than none at all. It was also made abundantly evident, that the general Reputation of the Church in the Colonies, and the Prosperity and Happiness of particular Congregations, greatly depend upon an American Episcopate. As to Confirmation, which is an ecclesiastical Institution, authorized by the Practice of the Apostles, and the Performance of which has always been appropriated to Bishops; the Church of England esteems the Benefits arising from it to be great and important, and the Want of them must be proportionably affecting to its Members.

IN Order that these peculiar Disadvantages of the Church of England in the Colonies might be removed, it was requested that Bishops might be allowed to reside in America. But as in most of the Colonies, the Episcopalians were intermixed with a larger Number of People of different religious Principles, the Impropriety of such an Episcopate here as was established in England, was obvious on all Sides. It would naturally abridge some of the religious Liberties, of which the various Denominations in the Colonies had been long and fairly in Possession; and this probably would be attended with Discontent and Clamor, and might be productive of unhappy Consequences.

To



## FARTHER DEFENDED. 233

To guard against these Inconveniencies, a Plan for an Episcopate had been formed, that was peculiarly adapted to the Circumstances of such a Country; and by the Execution of which it was imagined that the spiritual Necessities of the Church of England in the Colonies might be relieved, while no Harm could be done to other Christians; and no just Cause of Offence would be given. The Bishops proposed were to have no temporal Power, and consequently to hold no Courts for the Exercise of it---they were to have no Jurisdiction at all over any of the Dissenters, but to govern the episcopal Clergy only---they were to have no Maintenance from the Colonies in any Form---they were not to interfere in any Matters of civil Government, but to be confined to the Exercise of their spiritual Functions only. This general Plan had been honored, at home, with the Approbation of all the Patrons of an American Episcopate, for a long Course of Years; it had been cordially adopted by all the Clergy in the Colonies, and their Friends, that had attended to the Subject; and many Petitions in Favor of it had been transmitted to our Superiors in England.

WHILE the Matter was thus in Agitation, and before it should proceed farther, it was thought by the Clergy of the united Convention of New-York and New-Jersey, that it would be received as a Proof of their upright and candid Intentions, if an Account should be *published*, by their Direction; setting forth the Necessity of an American Episcopate, explaining the Nature of the Episcopate proposed, and assuring the Public that nothing was designed against the Liberty or Property of any Kind of People whatever:---And the Author was appointed to perform this Service. He

H h executed



executed the Trust reposed in him with such Abilities as he had; and he was certainly *faithful* in the Discharge of it. At the same Time he studied to give no Offence to any Denomination of Christians; and, as he had Occasion to mention any of them, he treated them always respectfully. The Nature of his Work led him to consider such Objections against an American Episcopate, as he had heard of, or supposed might be naturally made, by People of different Views and Interests; and all such as occurred to him were carefully considered, and, as he thought, shewn to be groundless. However, as he knew that others might be of a different Opinion, if any were dissatisfied with what had been said, or had any new Objections to offer, they were invited to signify it, and ‘to propose them in such a Manner, that they might be fairly and candidly debated, before the Tribunal of the Public.’

THE *Appeal* was published: And what shortly after ensued on the Occasion, what inflammatory periodical Papers and Pamphlets \* from different Quarters, were issued in Answer to it, is well known. An Alarm was sounded throughout the Colonies, that a general Invasion of their religious Liberty was projected---the Minds of the Populace were inflamed, by Arts that were wicked and infamous---the Church of England, the whole Order of Bishops, and the Clergy of our Convention, were shamefully abused in the common News-Papers---and a double Portion of the Abuse naturally fell upon the Author of the *Appeal*. However unexpected

\* The abovesaid *periodical Papers*, with the periodical *Answers* to them, have been collected and reprinted by Mr. Holt, in 3 Vols. 8vo. and are to be sold at his Printing-Office in New-York; the abovesaid *Pamphlets* never will be reprinted.



expected and undeserved a Reception his Publication met with from some People, he was resolved notwithstanding to take it patiently, and carefully to observe whatever might be said by his Adversaries, that might deserve Attention, and in due Time to reply to it.

BEFORE the Publication of the *Appeal*, the principal Objections against an Episcopate here, and the chief Source of Men's Disaffection towards it, were these Two; that in Consequence of such an Appointment, they should become subject to the Payment of *Tithes*, and to *spiritual Courts*; of which they had met with tremendous Descriptions.

THE Case of Tithes, which was generally misunderstood, was therefore carefully explained; and it was proved, that Tithes in England which are not paid to the Bishops, but to the parochial Clergy, are claimed by Virtue of an ancient Gift, whereby they were made the Property of the Church---that in this Country, as no Tithes had been given to the Church, none could be demanded; and were it otherwise, that they would belong to the Clergy, and be as recoverable without an Episcopate as with---and as to the proposed Bishops, that a Fund in England was raised for their Support, and that no Part of their Maintenance was ever intended to be drawn from the Americans. The Subject was placed in so clear and convincing a Light, that none of my Opponents have insisted upon the Objection. The Point has been given up on all Hands; and People in general are intirely easy on this Account, being abundantly satisfied, that they shall be subject to no Inconvenience for the *Support* of such an Episcopate, as has been requested.



As to spiritual Courts, the Plan absolutely excludes all Foundation or Pretence for them. For if the Bishops are to exercise no Authority over any but the episcopal Clergy, none but the Clergy themselves can be brought into their Courts; and neither the Laity of our own Communion, nor any People of other Communions, can be injured in this Respect. All that has been said in Opposition to this Evidence, has been either trifling or impertinent.

WHEN it was found that nothing of Consequence could be objected against the Plan itself, it was insisted that such a Plan was never intended to be put in Execution, but that a different Episcopate was really designed; and Dr. Chauncy intimated, that he had discovered some Secrets that would justify the Charge. He was called upon to produce Evidence of any Kind, that the Friends of an American Episcopate acted deceitfully, and to lay before the Public his pretended *Secrets*; but in his *Reply*, he very sagaciously takes Care to say nothing at all of the Matter: And, considering his Disposition and Situation as a Disputant, it is from thence as certain as any Demonstration in *Euclid*, that he could say nothing to the Purpose. And here it may be proper to repeat, what was said relating to this Objection, in my former *Defence*. p. 265. ‘ Important as it is, it has nothing more solid to depend upon than malevolent Conjecture; for whatever may be their (our Opponents) Pretences, every Reader knows that they have hitherto intirely failed in the Article of *Proof*. On our Side, the strongest Evidence that the Nature of such a Case will admit of, has been laid before the Public. We have produced, as Witnesses, the Society’s anniversary Sermons, their Abstracts,



‘ Abstracts, and indeed all that has been publish-  
 ‘ ed on the Subject, by such as could be supposed  
 ‘ to understand the Case, for half a Century past;  
 ‘ all which, without one Exception, testify in our  
 ‘ Favor. We have added our solemn Declarati-  
 ‘ ons, which must have a Weight proportionable  
 ‘ to what is allowed to our Characters. The Tes-  
 ‘ timony of our Vouchers is clear and express,  
 ‘ uniform and consistent, and directly to the Point;  
 ‘ while not one counter Evidence has appeared,  
 ‘ on the other Side, to weaken it. To the Weight  
 ‘ of our Declarations nothing has been opposed,  
 ‘ but ungenerous Reflections and pretended Sus-  
 ‘ picions.’

It has also been contended, that in Case the  
 present Plan should at first be actually put in Exe-  
 cution; yet the Danger is great, that, in Time,  
 it may degenerate into an Episcopate that is bur-  
 thensome and oppressive. But nothing has been  
 said, that proves more than the *Possibility* of this,  
 and which might not as fairly be objected against  
 the most harmless or useful Institution, that was  
 ever proposed. If it could be made *probable* that  
 such an Alteration would ensue, as would be inju-  
 rious to others; we would give up the Prosecution  
 of our general Design. For we mean nothing that  
 is unfriendly to any human Creature:---We desire  
 nothing more for ourselves than that harmless Li-  
 berty, which we wish all others to enjoy, and which  
 all the other Protestant Subjects, and many Popish  
 ones, of the British Empire, actually do enjoy.  
 But ‘ we see not the least Probability of this  
 ‘ (prognosticated Alteration) and we absolutely  
 ‘ deny that any such Thing is intended: So far  
 ‘ from it, that the Friends of the Church would  
 ‘ even join with its Enemies, were that necessary,  
 ‘ in



‘ in guarding against it. All the Assurances, all the  
 ‘ Evidences, all the Securities, which we have in our  
 ‘ Power to give to prevent Uneasiness, we are wil-  
 ‘ ling to offer; and all that is not beneath the Dig-  
 ‘ nity of Government to give, we are willing to sol-  
 ‘ icit. We want not an Episcopate on the Footing  
 ‘ of a *State-Establishment*; we desire no more than a  
 ‘ compleat Toleration, which we have not at pre-  
 ‘ sent; and thereby to be raised to an Equality with  
 ‘ other religious Denominations in the Colonies\*.’

UNDER these several Heads, all the Objections that have been offered directly against the Episcopate in Dispute, may be fairly reduced. The Church of England, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have been violently forced into this Controversy, and *violently* treated; but every Thing that has been said against either one or the other, in Case it could have been supported, has no more than an oblique and remote Relation to the Bishops in Question. All the Objections of this Kind, that have not been given up, have been brought before the Public in the present *Defence*, and mostly in the Words of my Opponent, and distinct Answers have been given; so that what real Strength they contain, the Reader is now able to judge.

AND here I beg Leave to observe, that, whatever may have been attempted in Opposition to our *Plan*, nothing that is plausible has been offered, and but little has been attempted against our Plea for an Episcopate of *some* Kind. It has not been shewn, nor can it be shewn, that going to England for Ordination is not as expensive, and has not been productive of as many Deaths, as was urged in the  
*Appeal.*

\* *Appeal defended*, p. 266.



*Appeal.* It has not been shewn, nor can it be shewn, that such a Burthen and such Losses are not Grievances, which all other Denominations of Christians in the Colonies, were it their own Case, would think intolerable. It has not been shewn, nor can it be shewn, that the Episcopalians in America should everlastingly be doomed to bear Burthens, from which all others are exempted. In a Word, it has not been shewn, nor can it be shewn, that they ought not to be admitted to an equal Enjoyment of religious Privileges with other Christians, although many of those Privileges are inseparable from an Episcopate.

ON the other hand, it wants not to be shewn, that they have never done any Thing, whereby the common Rights of Christians are forfeited. Their general Principles and Conduct are such, and have been such, with Regard to the Public, as can justly occasion no Distinction to their Disadvantage. They are, at least, as friendly to Liberty, both civil and religious, as any of their Opposers. They are 'equal to the foremost,' in Loyalty to the King, and Submission to the Government.

AND while their Pretensions and Claims are as fair, in all Respects, as those of their Neighbours, there are some Circumstances in their Favour, which, in Addition to their common Right, render it impossible, in their Opinion, that they should be finally disappointed. They consider themselves as Members of that Church, the Constitution of which peculiarly harmonises with the civil Government of the Nation, and which is therefore intitled to the peculiar Affection of Government. They consider our gracious Sovereign as their Defender and Patron, by Duty as well as  
by



by Inclination. They consider that the Nation in general has given to the Religion they profess, peculiar Proofs of Esteem and Preference at home ; and therefore cannot consistently treat it worse than all other Religions abroad. And they consider, that there never was an Instance, in any Age of the World, or any Nation on Earth, in which such a reasonable and moderate Request would have been refused, to such a Body of People, in such a Situation, and in such a Relation to the national Establishment.

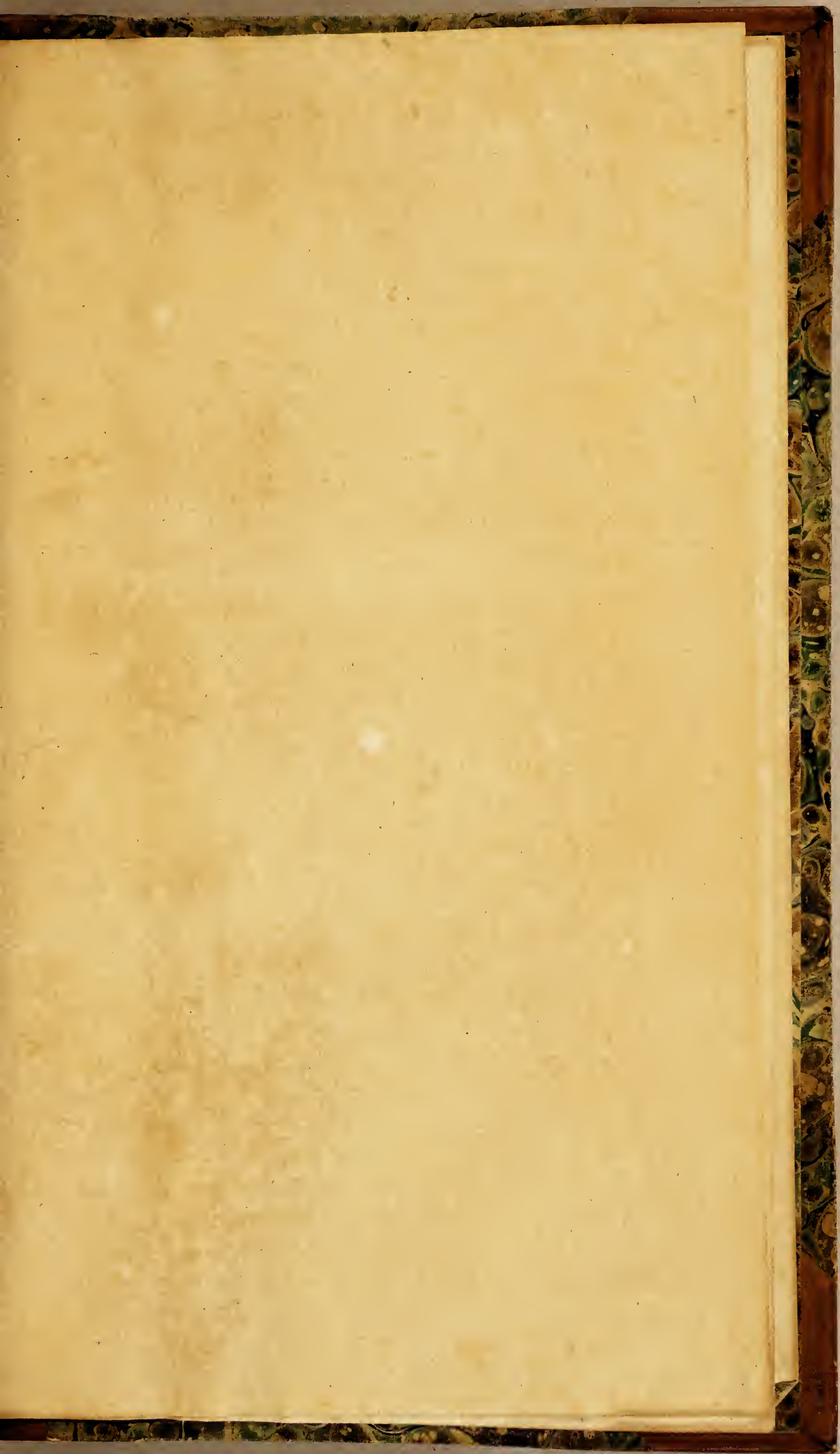
THEY cannot therefore but flatter themselves, that, notwithstanding the unreasonable and malicious Opposition they have met with, an Episcopate will be granted them on the Plan that is proposed, which they think much the fittest for this Country ; and that, so far as the Interposition of Government may be requisite, it will not be refused. If any distinguishing Favours were requested, if any Dominion or Superiority over others were aimed at, it would intirely alter the Case. But, as was said in the *Appeal* : ‘ The Church of England in  
 ‘ America---only requests, that proper Remedies  
 ‘ may be provided for her present Sufferings.---  
 ‘ She wishes for nothing, which shall be thought  
 ‘ inconsistent with the Rights and Safety of others.  
 ‘ She asks nothing but what has been granted to  
 ‘ others, without any ill Consequences ; and she  
 ‘ relies on the common Affection and Justice of  
 ‘ the Nation, to raise her to this Equality. And  
 ‘ whether there be any Thing presumptuous or  
 ‘ unreasonable in these Expectations, let Heaven  
 ‘ and Earth judge !’

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*Wm. W. W.*  
*Wm. W. W.*



G. Furman  
Brooklyn  
L.I.



